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Journal
of the
**ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

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VOLUME XLVII
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WILLIAM G. STRATTON, *Governor*

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Journal
of the
**ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



Page 107

BEGINNING ITS SECOND CENTURY

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SPRING 1954

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CRACKER BARREL DAYS IN OLD ILLINOIS STORES

BY GERALD CARSON

FREQUENT acknowledgment has been made in our generation of the contribution to American life of the old-time country doctor, the lawyer and the minister, whose special places in the community have been the subject of many appreciative and sympathetic studies. The proprietor of the general merchandise store, though he existed by the thousands, has received markedly less than his due as a leader and civilizing influence in rural life. Being a merchant was not a learned occupation, and there were all kinds of merchants, some quite temporary. It wasn't hard to get into store-keeping, as one Michigan wit used to remark, it was just hard to *stay* in.

Many men of low capacity or unstable temperament, tried storing, as they did farming, trapping, lumbering or fighting. When a store failed to prosper and creditors became more numerous than debtors, the owners could always take shelter under lenient bankruptcy laws, or skedaddle to parts unknown, as did Denton Offutt, Lincoln's employer at New Salem, and many another.

Yet, if one were to set forth the character of the successful country trader, he would find himself considering a

Gerald Carson is a former New York advertising copywriter who retired from business to write books. He was born at Carrollton, Illinois, is a graduate of the University of Illinois (B.A. and M.A. degrees), and author of The Old Country Store published this spring by the Oxford University Press.

very durable man, tougher than green elm, with many impressive skills and accomplishments and a considerable knowledge of the world. The crossroads merchant managed a complex of buying and selling far more difficult than the merchandising of the twentieth century. He had an exhaustive knowledge of his community and served it in ways which were more continuous and more intimate than those of the doctor, lawyer or minister. The country store was more than a communications center. It was the best hope that the four corners would one day become a town. As William Oliver, author of an immigrants' handbook on Illinois, said:

A store, in this part of the country, and indeed in America generally, is a grand melange of things of the most different qualities, and it proposes to supply the inhabitants with all the necessaries and luxuries they may require. They are sources of great profit; and a person with a little capital and some knowledge of the business, can scarcely fail, with ordinary prudence, to realize an independence.¹

The storekeepers, Rebecca Burlend told the people back in Yorkshire,

supply the settlers with articles the most needed, such as food, clothing, implements of husbandry, medicine, and spirituous liquors: for which they receive in exchange the produce of their farms, consisting of wheat, Indian corn, sugar, beef, bacon, &c. As these store keepers exercise a sort of monopoly over a certain district, their profits are great, and they often become wealthy.

She also noted the rise of the store proprietor as petty capitalist, and Illinois' first friend to industry: "they often have a saw-mill and a corn-mill, at which they grind the corn they obtain from the farmers, for the purpose of sending it to New Orleans."²

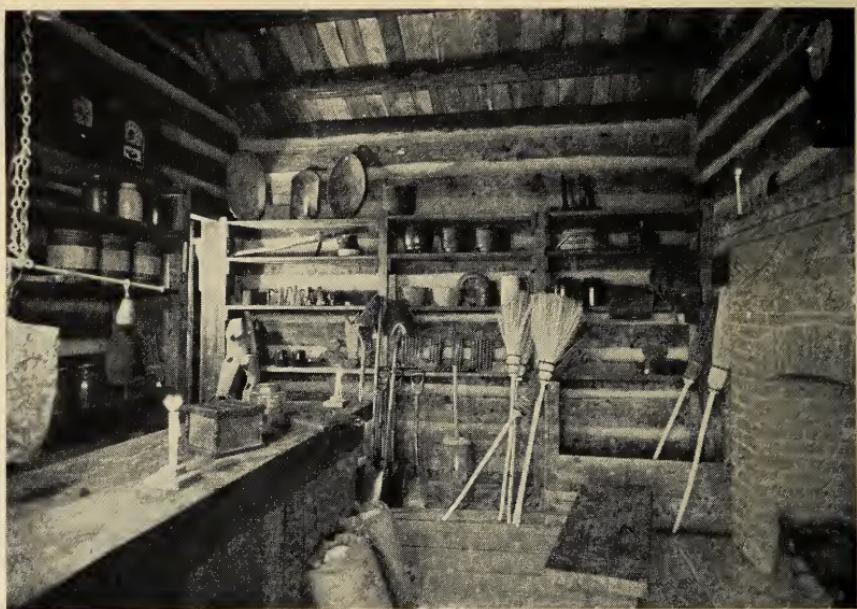
It is not to be wondered at that a long-headed farm lad with a settled aversion to pulling stumps, shucking corn, packing salt pork or cutting whip lashes out of a woodchuck skin,

¹ William Oliver, *Eight Months in Illinois* (Chicago, 1924), 124.

² [Rebecca Burlend], Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *A True Picture of Emigration* (Chicago, 1936), 67.

would be attracted to "buying, tying and taking in the money." But there was much more to storekeeping in early Illinois than dusting the ribbon case, wearing a coat and teaching a Sunday school class. The pioneer trader acted as middleman in a highly speculative two-way exchange, moving farm produce to New Orleans or some other primary market, in exchange for store goods from the eastern seaboard cities. As issuer of long-term credit, he was, in effect, a banker, and underwrote the agriculture of the state. In a day before the traveling salesman had appeared, the local merchant journeyed to the wholesale markets and brought back not only goods but news, ideas, a touch of urbanity. He was a window on the world for a straitened people. As a person of wide experience, the country retailer was expected to demonstrate his versatility in astonishing ways. He could draw a farm lease, was able in a pinch to prepare a short-form will. If a doctor couldn't be found, the storekeeper prescribed for a "misery in the stummick." He supplied sulphur for the "Illinois mange," calomel for the "Illinois shakes." He was the natural choice to read the Declaration of Independence in a loud, clear voice, down at the grove on the Fourth of July, when men still openly wiped tears from their eyes as they thought of their liberties. The storekeeper was also expected to be able to extract beans from small boys' noses.

Under the system of storekeeper-marketing, the trader gave the farmer low prices for his produce. The farmer could not hold his crops back. He had no capital, no other outlet, and was in debt to the store. For his part, the retailer took long risks, paid the high costs of transportation, and his speculative position in the commodity markets called for a strong stomach. The system worked. The crops did get to market. Those country store owners who were well fitted for the occupation almost invariably did make money over a lifetime. When business was slack the resourceful merchant showed his mettle. He might dig a grave, peg shoes, run up a suit



—Herbert Georg photo.

SAMUEL HILL'S STORE AT NEW SALEM—AS RECONSTRUCTED

of clothes. Sometimes he kept a tavern as well as a store, probably under the same roof, taking out a license to sell by the drink as well as by the gallon. That's what Sam Hill, prosperous grocer, general merchant and postmaster at New Salem did. Tradition has it that Hill lost the postmastership to Abraham Lincoln because of that tavern license. The women of New Salem objected to calling for their mail while rustic toughs made merry at the bar. Hill had underestimated the power of the women.

A grocery store, in the mid-nineteenth century, was not merely a food depot. The idea comes through clearly enough in a contemporary comment, "selling liquor *at the groceries* is the devil and all of a business."³ Although a grocery store "may be the receptacle of tea, coffee and sugar," says William Oliver, "it is not invariably so. It is, in fact . . . very often . . . entirely devoted to the selling of spirits."⁴

³ *Protestant Monitor* (Greenville, Ill.), March 5, 1847.

⁴ Oliver, *Eight Months in Illinois*, 124.

Since the early accounts of Illinois life were invariably written from the point of view of the customer, there is much emphasis upon high prices and rascally merchants. A yard of calico cost a bushel of wheat. It took five bushels to buy a pair of shoes. The buyer had to beware of short weight and adulterated goods.

To the extent that these practices were true of the store, they were also tolerated under the code of commercial morals followed by the barter customer when he had something to sell. We hear little of "stove-piping" the potatoes; but the practice was known when the farmer did the bagging. A length of stovepipe was inserted into a gunny bag, the big potatoes poured around it, the runts and culls dumped into the inside, and the pipe gently removed; all in all, a neat western version of what was called in New England "deaconing the apples." Country butter from cool farm cellars was not always high-scoring. It could be "extended" with lard, although "the ordinary way of adulterating butter is by adding a large quantity of salt, so that it may absorb an excessive amount of water, and also increase the weight."⁵ "Candling and grading eggs was unknown," says Tom Haines, of Missoula, Montana, remembering his youthful days at "clerk"ing in Rockport. "The farmer believed in letting the merchant get stuck. Many times when I was a boy I saw eggs hatch in the cases in the old Haines-Rupert store."⁶

The equipment of one young clerk for general store merchandising was that in arithmetic he had gone through Erastus Root, Jonathan Grout and Nathan Daboll. He had an easy acquaintance with decimal fractions, the rule of three, "single and double fellowship." He could spell accurately, read "tolerably," write a fair hand and use "passable" grammar.⁷ He was also considered to be sharp at a bargain.

⁵ *The Grocer's Companion and Merchant's Hand-Book* (Boston, 1883), 23.

⁶ Thomas Haines, MS memorandum to the author, Oct., 1951.

⁷ [Asa Green], *The Perils of Pearl Street, Including a Taste of the Dangers of Wall Street, by a Late Merchant* (New York, 1834), 10.

A "chore boy" of a general store of the 1880's was expected to perform a vast number of simple but exhausting duties. He swept out the store in the morning, took care of his employer's yard, straightened nails on the back step, rolled up oddments of string for the "string box." He waited on trade in small items, had his own cash box and recorded his transactions in a give-away memorandum issued by Dr. R. V. Pierce, known widely as the patent medicine millionaire of Buffalo, New York, but who preferred the modest accolade which he had bestowed upon himself, "the people's medical servant."⁸

There were a number of ways in which a country merchant could keep his accounts in the days before the cash register or the early ticket register, such as the old McClaskey. He might calculate on a slate or a shingle, the wall or a notched stick, by some esoteric shorthand, hieroglyphic or pictograph. But he had to keep accounts of some kind, and the only good ones were those which he himself could understand. If possible, he undertook to master single-entry book-keeping and get a certificate from the "Professor," decorated with pen writing at its fanciest, dramatic thick-and-thin shadings, possibly a pair of doves on the wing. William M. Haines, who became a widely-known merchant of Pike County, received such a certificate from Jonathan Jones in St. Louis, March 18, 1864. It recites that William M. Haines

has this day completed under my instruction a full course of Double Entry Bookkeeping embracing Mercantile, Manufacturing, and Steamboat Bookkeeping, Individual Company and Compound Company, with Forms adapted to the Wholesale, Retail, Banking and Commission Business, . . . he is in every respect worthy of public confidence as a Practical Accountant, and as such I do most cheerfully commend him to the favorable consideration of those who may wish to employ a Competent Bookkeeper.⁹

When a general store folded up, or the owner died, the

⁸ S. S. Lappin, "The Rapp Store at Geff, Illinois, in the Eighties," (Bedford, Ind., n.d.), MS memoir sent to the author.

⁹ From the certificate owned by Mrs. Ernest Gay, Griggsville, Ill.

old leather-bound folios often had a surprising subsequent history. Fitch Kelsey's ledger from Liberty, Adams County, became a family scrapbook after he passed on. Temperance tracts were pasted over the old records of debtor and creditor—newspaper verse, too, showing a nice taste for the sentimental poetry of the period. A young miss, known to her mother as Eliza Lane, but in her own secret dream world as Eliza Lanetta, started, but alas did not finish, an original composition entitled "Evening Hymn of a Child." It begins promisingly enough:

One evening i was wandering
Beside a river fare . . . faire
Wild roses and blue violets
I'd pluck to deck my hair.

Here the poetess falters. Of the second stanza we have only this fragment:

The birds were singing over me.

A new feminine hand shows up at this point, with little jottings of tiny family expenses, and of the earnings of a seamstress: "Cash for sewing in Alton, \$1.20."¹⁰

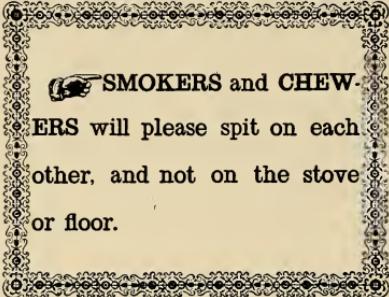
Mrs. J. Q. Rapp, of Jeffersonville—a village whose population has shrunk, and whose name has kept pace, being now shortened to Geff—used an old ledger thriftily as a filing system. She made it over into an invoice book by pasting over the closed accounts, for example, an invoice from Bishop Brothers, Cincinnati, for \$40 worth of crackers, cigars, nuts, candies and oranges, and one from Sprague, Warner & Company, Chicago, with a scrawl across its face, "Too cold to ship cheese or ink."

Personal recollections and family traditions about the general store come to mind most vividly either as a complex of extraordinary smells and redolences, or as memories of the stove-side sitters, those capped and bearded democrats who

¹⁰ Fitch Kelsey, MS ledger, Liberty, Ill., University of Illinois Library.

found in the store the American equivalent of the English pub as a center for congenial comradeship. The smells were

a composite of machine oil, kerosene, coffee, onion sets, the sizing on the bolts of yard goods, tobacco smoke, local corn whiskey, harness, cowhide boots, raw humanity and wet dogs.

 **SMOKERS and CHEWERS** will please spit on each other, and not on the stove or floor.

COUNTRY STORE WALL MOTTO

This bit of nineteenth-century humor suggests that the merchant did not always willingly or graciously play his unavoidable role as host.

would be acceptable, and buying little. Sometimes they were a source of entertainment, telling wonder tales and tall tales, getting off guys and jollies of store porch humor. Like a Greek chorus, they commented upon people and the degenerate times. Sometimes they disputed over some troublesome theological doctrine, such as that of Immaculate Conception, and paused to notice local instances of the more ordinary kind. Again, they put their noses into the storekeeper's business, and rallied him upon his office of trustee of the district school, known ironically as "Cornstalk College." They ogled the more comely customers, and were likely to raise a sudden cheer for Major McKinley or a tiger for Colonel Bryan.

It takes an effort of the historical imagination to reconstruct what was considered to be an exquisite prank in a nineteenth-century general store. Getting geese drunk on whiskey-soaked corn was a common practice. In the 1880's Jim Rupert of Rockport owned a dog called Jim Pug. Carson Rupert was always teasing the dog. One of his favorite tricks was to tie a string to a chunk of meat and give it to him. The dog would gulp it down, and then Carson would pull on the

The store loafers were a trial, occupying their places by a kind of right of eminent domain, dipping comfortably into the cracker barrel, munching the store cheese, hinting that a drink from the opened whiskey barrel

string. Jim would squat back, grunt, growl, scratch his feet and create a general disturbance each time the string was pulled, much to the delight of the onlookers. Jim Pug was fond of eggs and would roll them out of the tubs and break them on the floor. He was choosy, too. If the egg was fairly fresh he would eat it. If not, he let it lie. The dog was quite an attraction and advertising medium for the store.¹¹

Another standard trick was for some of the boys to slip out and loosen the nuts on the buggy wheels of a store customer. After he got well on the way home, the buggy would shed its wheels, one by one. A jape of a more imaginative and monumental character occurred the time a small circus had its main and only tent pitched beside the railroad tracks at Fairbury, when the McDowell brothers, Elmer, Tom and Johnny, had some kind of ruckus with the circus roustabouts. Feeling aggrieved, the McDowells tied a rope from the circus tent to the caboose of a freight train which was standing nearby. When the train pulled out, so did the tent.¹²

The country store's great days came after the pioneering was over, when rail transportation, power farming, national markets, advertising and quantities of store goods, all seemed to arrive at once. A country trader typed the period when he remarked sadly: "Advertising seems to be kind of taking the place of dustin'." But advertising indubitably put some hurrah into storekeeping. "Highway Robbery, Murder, Treason, Codfish, Loco Foco Matches, and 4 cent Calico" was the attention-getter one general merchant used to align himself with the stirring new times.¹³ As advertising advanced, the tierces, barrels, piggins, firkins and other forms of cooperage moved off the scene. H. J. Heinz, who gave away millions of little green plaster of paris pickle pins at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, took over the packaged, branded pickle business from the old bulk article. Barreled oatmeal became

¹¹ Haines memorandum.

¹² *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1952.

¹³ Barrett's Store advertisement in *Prairie Democrat* (Freeport, Ill.), Jan. 26, 1848.

packaged Quaker Oats. Eatin' tobacco came to be called by such names as Star, Golden Rope, Something Good, Horseshoe. In the eighties the scene became crowded with new consumer-unit packages and trade-marked names: Douglas Shoes, Lonsdale muslins, Ariosa Coffee, Yarmouth canned corn, McLean's patent medicines.¹⁴

For almost a hundred years, the only competition the general store had was the pack or carting peddler. The itinerant merchant from the East was well, but not always favorably, known in Illinois. If a New Englander, it would be said of him, "Yankees are too quirky." For many young peddlers, the way up in the world was to pitch on a promising spot and set up as a country storekeeper with a permanent stand. Dexter Knowlton left the old family farm in the hills of Chautauqua County, New York, for a peddling trip to the western prairies. "I was gone from home over two months, having made in my trip over \$300, over and above all expenses. . . . Being much pleased with northern Illinois, I decided to move there."¹⁵ At Freeport, Knowlton exchanged his pack for the counter and ruler of the sedentary merchant. Within a few years, "by clost attention to my business," he owned a bank as well as a booming store, sat as director of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, had joined the railroad lobby in Springfield; and was nominated in 1852, though not elected, as governor of the state on the Free Soil ticket. In his last years, with a comfortable capital accumulated in Illinois, Knowlton reappeared in New York state as a substantial financier and promoter, purveyed Congress Water to the ailing at Saratoga, and died in the fullness of his years in a brownstone mansion on Brooklyn Heights. Carting gentleman, storekeeper, banker, politico, entrepreneur—peddler's progress, indeed!

The general store survived the competitive efforts of the

¹⁴ Lappin, "Rapp Store."

¹⁵ "Autobiography of Dexter A. Knowlton, Sr.," MS owned by K. H. Knowlton, Freeport, Ill.

peddler, the specialized "one line" store, the city department store, and also the vivacious and acrimonious era of the Chicago "wish books" ("Wish I had a Daisy Air Rifle"). The adversary which put the lights out along the old scarred counters was neither "Shears and Sawbuck" nor "Monkey-Ward." It was a short, simple name spelled a-u-t-o. When the red gas pump replaced the hitching rack, the drummers disappeared. The catalogue houses turned themselves into retail chain stores, and the customers trundled off to the nearest market town in the high, black, spidery, but reliable vehicle manufactured by Henry Ford, and warranted to "Get You There and Get You Back."

The institution of the old, cluttered, leisurely general store is now largely a memory and a tradition, recalled with affection and humor and that wistfulness which often attaches to the remembrance of all things which have passed into ob-

GOODS!!!

Of fine and noble selections—
All colors, kinds and complexions—
Cheap as the *cheapest* at that,
Are being sold now-a-days—at

BARRETT'S:

Going off hourly, in boxes and sacks,
The richest, finest & best of nic-nacks
The clerks are busy, early and late—
Using the yd.-stick as well as the slate.

HAIL COLUMBIA !!

Groceries—of all kinds; [such as]
Gimps, and Window Blinds.
Teas, Sugars, and Cassimeres;
Oils, Candies, and Cashmeres;
Indigo, Trace Chains, and Nails;
Fulled Cloths, Sattinets and Pails.
Raisins, Ribbons and Rice;
Molasses, Gimlets and Spice.

NUTMEGS AND RAT TRAPS

Tin-Ware, and Baby's Socks;
Eggs, Boots and Brass Locks;
Ginger, Candles, and Cradles;
Glauber Salts, Tobacco and Ladles.
Lanterns, Real Estate, and Glues;
Lead, Shot, Spices and Shoes.
Tweedes, Brooms and Madder red;
Basins, Log chains, red & black lead.

NOTIONS & FIXINS !

Razors, Perfumery and Glass;
Hand Saws, white Satin—first clas!
Paints, Saw-Files and Silk;
Butter and Cheese made of skim-milk!

For all, or any of the above articles,
and thousands of others, just call at the
Cheapest store in Freeport—directly op-
posite the Stephenson County Hotel—
don't forget the place, but keep con-
stantly in your mind, that interesting
word—*CHEAP*.

Freeport, Jan. 15, 1848.

—Courtesy Freeport Public Library.

ADVERTISING 106 YEARS AGO

Barrett's Store in Freeport adver-
tised in rhyme in the January 26,
1848 issue of the *Prairie Democrat*.

livion. Starting as an American improvisation to meet new conditions in a vast and empty land, serving a scattered population which had no other facilities for buying its saleratus, powder, shot and bed ticking, or of disposing of its little surpluses from home-use farming, the country store took on the local need, whatever it was, and tried to meet it.

Other methods of distributing goods came along better to serve the motor age. None ever equaled the original Pa and Ma store as a social as well as a commercial center. It's hard now to find even the semblance of a country store in Illinois, with old counters still in place, shelf goods along the wall, scythe snaths and hand tools in the rear, wash boilers, stalks of bananas and lanterns dangling from the rafters, all lines of general merchandise helter-skelter in a homey sort of confusion. There is Gully Haug's emporium at Golden Eagle. He still sells horse collars and cider barrels.¹⁶ Emil Schoen is at the old stand at Old Ripley.¹⁷ Carl Wittmond is an institution at Brussels.¹⁸ The traditional potbellied stove occupies the central point of interest at P. C. Schoenholz's bazaar at Scarboro, off U. S. Route 51, between Rochelle and Mendota.¹⁹ The ancient "Clat" Adams store facing the Mississippi River at Quincy and dating back to the 1830's has just closed its doors. Up to the time of its demise it continued to display the turn-around thread cabinet for "Merrick's Six Cord Spool Cotton," the settee by the stove, and the wooden drawers labeled in old-style lettering, sulphur, cassia, cinnamon, thyme, mace, sage and alum.

As is the lot of all men, the proprietor of the crossroads store could not attend his own funeral, except in a highly unsatisfactory way. He could not hear the eulogy, or know the regard of the community for his life and work. Perhaps he was no great "punkins" as men were measured in the

¹⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1950.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1950.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1950.

¹⁹ *Rockford Morning Star*, Aug. 23, 1953.

greater world of state and nation. To those who traded at his store, providing that he was fair in matters of credit and gave "down weight" on the steelyard—to the neighbors who knew him in good times and bad—he was the real grit.

We get some sense of what a country merchant meant to his township from the obituary columns of weekly newspapers. We read of Robert W. "Butch" Carr, who had conducted a general store and post office at Fayette.²⁰ When Butch died, he was carried to the cemetery in charge of his lodge brothers, the Modern Woodmen of America. It was February. The store thermometer stood at zero. Long lines of heavy farm wagons fell into the ragged line, lighter spring wagons, buggies and a few surreys teetered over the frozen ruts, all filled with Butch's neighbors and customers, wrapped in buffalo robes, their feet feeling gingerly for the soapstone. No one said much, beyond the little phrases people use to conceal their thoughts. But the procession was one of the longest ever seen in Greene County.

GALENA MARKET HOUSE RESTORATION

First steps in restoring the old Market House at Galena will be completed this summer under the terms of a contract awarded in January to Cyril J. Droessler of Dubuque, Iowa. The brick walls of the main structure will be repaired or rebuilt where necessary, the roof will be rebuilt, the basement will be excavated where it has filled with silt, and the two wooden wings of the building will be restored. The Market House property was deeded to the state in 1947, and the \$23,965 contract was let by the Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings under an appropriation passed by the 1953 General Assembly. W. F. McCaughey of Park Ridge, Illinois, will be the supervising architect. He has waived his normal fee because of his interest in restoring the historic buildings of Galena. The story of the old Market House is told in the Spring, 1952, issue of this *Journal*.

²⁰ *The Patriot* (Carrollton, Ill.), Feb. 8, 1895.

LINCOLN'S FENCE RAILS

BY WAYNE C. TEMPLE

THE successful political campaign of the Republican Party in 1860 was built largely around the theme of Lincoln as a rail splitter. In the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign of 1840, a similar device had proved highly successful for the Whigs who chose the log cabin as their symbol of earthiness and as an added inducement served hard cider to the potential voters. The Democratic press laughed at the "humbug" of the "log cabins on wheels, hard cider barrels, canoes, brigs, and every description of painted device,"¹ but the Whigs marched on to victory at the polls, aided by their clever frontier devices. Likewise, the Republicans swept to victory in 1860 greatly assisted by a good campaign theme identifying Abraham Lincoln, a prominent lawyer long removed from manual labor, with the workingman.

A few accounts, written years after the event, have tried to establish the fact that the rail splitting idea was used at Charleston, Illinois, when Lincoln debated there with Douglas on September 18, 1858.² One of them states that there was "an immense streamer across the street, of a man driving

¹ *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], June 5, 1840.

² The account by Emmet Glassco, son of Matt Glassco who is said to have driven a large wagon with men on it splitting rails, is in S. E. Thomas, *Lincoln-Douglas Debate . . . in Charleston*. (The Teachers College Bulletin, No. 86, Oct. 1, 1924), 7-8; read as a paper at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1908.

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oxteams and mauling rails."³ However, a contemporary account describes the same scene thus:

The chief decoration of the day was a gigantic banner, eighty feet long, hung across the street from the Court House to a high building on the west side of the street. On one side was inscribed:

COLES COUNTY

FOUR HUNDRED MAJORITY FOR LINCOLN

On the reverse was a painting of "OLD ABE 30 YEARS AGO," driving three yoke of oxen, attached to a yawl-like Kentucky wagon.⁴

The author has been unable to locate a single primary source confirming the use of the rail in 1858. In none of the contemporary newspaper accounts describing the Lincoln-Douglas debates collected by Edwin E. Sparks is rail splitting mentioned. In 1858 Lincoln was frequently referred to as "Long Abe," "Old Abe," "Uncle Abe," the "Giant Killer," or pictured as an ox driver, but he was not yet the "Rail Splitter."⁵

The idea of associating Lincoln with rail splitting was born in 1860, the inspiration of Richard J. Oglesby (later governor of Illinois) and John Hanks (a first cousin of Lincoln's mother). Each claimed that he thought of the idea first. Hanks wrote:

One day at home, we heard that the Republican State Convention was to be held at Decatur, and that they were going for Abe for President. As soon as I found this out I went into town and told a friend of Abe's [Oglesby] that as great and honest merit was at last to be rewarded in the person of my friend Mr. Lincoln, by the Republican party, I thought of the hard and

³ "How Lincoln Came Here in 1858," *Charleston (Ill.) Daily News*, Aug. 17, 1908.

⁴ *Chicago Press & Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1858.

⁵ *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Springfield, Ill., 1908), 44, 82, 137, 325, 317. Henry C. Whitney states that it was the Decatur convention of 1860 which "injected into the canvass the novelty and glamour of the 'rail-splitting' episode: which took like wild-fire." *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892), 84. *Ill. State Register*, June 12, 1860 quotes the *Chicago Times*: "During the canvass in this state in 1858, not one word was ever heard of Lincoln's services as a rail splitter. . . . Not one word was breathed about his having labored as a flat boatman, or toiled at splitting rails! Those two events of his life were discovered and made known, for the first time, at Decatur, in May, 1860." The *Times* maintained that Orville H. Browning had used the rail-splitting device in his campaign against Stephen A. Douglas for a congressional seat in 1843.

trying struggles of his early days, and recollecting the rails we had made together thirty years ago, made up my mind to present some of them to that Convention as a testimonial of the beginning of one of the greatest living men of the age.⁶

A few months before he died in 1899 Oglesby related his version of this event to J. McCan Davis, clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois:

One day I was talking with John [Hanks] about Abe, and he said that in 1830 they made a clearing twelve miles west of Decatur. There was a patch of timber—fifteen or twenty acres—and they had cleared it; they had built a cabin, cut the trees, mauld rails, and put up a fence.

"John," said I, "did you split rails down there with old Abe?"

"Yes; every day," he replied.

"Do you suppose you could find any of them now?"

"Yes," he said. "The last time I was down there, ten years ago, there were plenty of them left."

"What are you going to do to-morrow?"

"Nothing."

"Then," said I, "come around and get in my buggy, and we will drive down there."

So the next day we drove out to the old clearing. We turned in by the timber, and John said:

"Dick, if I don't find any black-walnut rails, nor any honey-locust rails, I won't claim it's the fence Abe and I built."

Presently John said, "There's the fence!"

"But look at these great trees," said I.

"Certainly," he answered. "They have all grown up since."

John got out. I stayed in the buggy. John kneeled down and commenced chipping the rails of the old fence with his knife. Soon he came back with black-walnut shavings and honey-locust shavings.

"There they are!" said he, triumphantly, holding out the shavings. "They are the identical rails we made."

Then I got out and made an examination of the fence. There were many black-walnut and honey-locust rails.

"John," said I, "where did you cut these rails?"

"I can take you to the stumps," he answered.

"We will go down there," said I.

We drove about a hundred yards.

"Now," said he, "look! There's a black-walnut stump; there's another—another—another. Here's where we cut the trees down and split the rails.

⁶ John Hanks to *Illinois State Chronicle* [Decatur], reprinted in the *Cincinnati Rail Splitter*, Aug. 15, 1860.

Then we got a horse and wagon, and hauled them in, and built the fence, and also the cabin."

We took two of the rails and tied them under the hind axle-tree of my new buggy, and started for town. People would occasionally pass, and think something had broken. We let them think so, for we didn't wish to tell anybody just what we were doing. We kept right on until we got to my barn. There we hid the rails until the day of the convention.

Before the convention met I talked with several Republicans about my plan, and we fixed it up that old John Hanks should take the rails into the convention.⁷

Jane Martin Johns, the wife of a Decatur politician, confirms Oglesby's claim for suggesting the plan:

He had conceived the idea of presenting Lincoln as the representative candidate of free labor, the exponent of the possibilities for a poor man in a free state. Recalling the successful Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign of 1840, he determined to find some one thing in Mr. Lincoln's unsuccessful career as a worker that could be made the emblem of that idea, and a catch word which would make enthusiastic the working people.⁸

Lincoln, writing in 1860, referred to John Hanks as the man "who now engineers the 'rail enterprize' at Decatur."⁹ But this statement does not rule out Oglesby as the originator of the idea since it simply identifies Hanks. Then too, Oglesby was not as conspicuous as Hanks who carried in the rails. It is certain that the two men went together to collect them.¹⁰

While the ardent workers of the Republican Party hurried the arrangements for their state convention to be held at Decatur on May 9 and 10, 1860, the old rails remained in Oglesby's barn. Since Decatur had no permanent building large enough to seat the huge gathering which was expected, a Macon County committee supervised the erection of a "wigwam 120 by 50 feet in size, with stands, seats, and all the necessary appointments for the use of the Convention."¹¹

⁷ J. McCan Davis, *How Abraham Lincoln Became President* (Springfield, Ill., 1908), 56-58.

⁸ Jane Martin Johns, *Personal Recollections of Early Decatur, Abraham Lincoln, Richard J. Oglesby, and the Civil War* (Decatur, 1912), 80.

⁹ *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. ed., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), IV: 64.

¹⁰ Oglesby to Hanks, Springfield, Ill., May 20, 1865, in William E. Barton, *Additional Information: The Lincoln Cabin on Boston Common* (Peoria, 1929), n.p.

¹¹ *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], May 3, 1860, quoting *Ill. State Chronicle*.

This temporary structure of wood and canvas was "sufficiently large to accommodate not only the delegates, but all 'outsiders' who may honor us with their presence."¹² But the convention proved to be even larger than expected. On Monday, May 7, "the advance guard reached here [Decatur], and every train . . . contributed its quota, filling the city to its utmost capacity."¹³

Among the early arrivals was Lincoln himself. Joseph G. Cannon, then practicing law at Tuscola, was in Decatur the day before the convention and found Lincoln already there. In reply to a question about his candidacy, Lincoln said, "I'm most too much of a candidate to be here and not enough of one to stay away!"¹⁴ Although Ward H. Lamon later related that Lincoln "had no special interest in the proceedings, and appears to have had no notion that any business relating to him was to be transacted that day,"¹⁵ such was not the case. Before the convention assembled, there was a movement abroad to secure the state convention's support for Lincoln as the Republicans' choice for president.¹⁶ In fact, though Oglesby later insisted that "Abe had not known that the rails were to be brought in,"¹⁷ Lincoln should have been fully aware that there was to be a great to-do over some rails he had split years before. A Decatur correspondent of the *Illinois State Journal* announced for all to read:

Among the sights which will greet your eyes will be a lot of rails, mauled out of Burr Oak and Walnut,¹⁸ thirty years ago, by old Abe Lincoln and John Hanks, of this county. They are still sound and firm, like the men that made them. Shall we not elect the Rail Mauler President? His rails, like his political record, are straight, sound and out of good timber.¹⁹

¹² *Ibid.*, May 7, 1860, letter to editor, Decatur, May 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1860, letter to editor, Decatur, May 9.

¹⁴ Jewell H. Aubere, "A Reminiscence of Abraham Lincoln: A Conversation with Speaker Cannon," *The World's Work*, XIII (Feb., 1907), 8528.

¹⁵ Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln . . .* (Boston, 1872), 444.

¹⁶ "Address of Richard Price Morgan" in *Abraham Lincoln By Some Men Who Knew Him*, ed. by Isaac N. Phillips (Bloomington, Ill., 1910), 86-87. Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, 1909), II: 82; *Chicago Press & Tribune*, April 28, 1860.

¹⁷ Davis, *How Abraham Lincoln Became President*, 59.

¹⁸ Oglesby said the rails were "black-walnut" and "honey-locust."

¹⁹ *Ill. State Journal*, May 7, 1860, letter to editor, Decatur, May 4.

Evidently, Oglesby or the "several Republicans," with whom he shared the "secret," gave the story to the press before the convention opened. And certainly most of the alert delegates learned about this stunt by word of mouth before the actual episode took place.

The opening day of the convention, May 9, was "pleasant . . . but somewhat cool" since it had rained the previous day.²⁰ "The wigwam was crammed with about 3,000 persons, and there were 1,000 or 2,000 more outside, during the morning session; and whenever that crowd cheered, which was not seldom, one had to anchor himself to the ground to prevent being raised off his feet."²¹ Jackson Grimshaw of Adams County called the session to order at 10 A.M., after which John M. Palmer of Macoupin County was named temporary president and the work of organizing the convention began.

After a recess for lunch the delegates reassembled at 2 P.M. for the afternoon session. Joseph Gillespie of Madison County was chosen as the permanent president, and the serious work of electing delegates to the Republican National Convention as well as a slate of state candidates began. Gillespie made a brief speech. Then somebody noticed that Lincoln was in the audience. Immediately, a motion that he "be invited to take a seat with the officers of the Convention was passed with three cheers for 'Old Abe' as he came forward" and took the proffered seat of honor.²²

After this commotion subsided, the convention proceeded to the task of nominating a candidate for governor. An informal ballot was taken "by a call of counties, *viva voce*," but none of the leading candidates—Norman B. Judd, Leonard Swett and Richard Yates—had a majority. The next step was a formal ballot, and a slight delay resulted.²³

²⁰ J. G. Randall and T. C. Pease, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Springfield, 1925), I: 405. Browning attended the convention, but did not mention the rail incident.

²¹ *Ill. State Journal*, May 10, 1860, letter to editor, Decatur, May 9.

²² *Chicago Press & Tribune*, May 10, 1860, dispatch from Decatur, May 9.

²³ *Ibid.*; *Ill. State Journal*, May 12, 1860.

Pending this first formal ballot Oglesby arose and "announced to the delegates that an old Democrat of Macon county, who had grown gray in the service of that party, desired to make a contribution to the Convention."²⁴ This was the cue for John Hanks "and another man" to bring the rails into the wigwam.²⁵ The Convention eagerly accepted the proposal, and

... forthwith two old time fence rails, decorated with flags and streamers, were borne through the crowd into the Convention, bearing the inscription:²⁶

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
The Rail Candidate
FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860.

Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in 1830
by Thos. Hanks and Abe Lincoln—whose
father was the first pioneer of Macon
County.

The effect was electrical. One spontaneous burst of applause went up from all parts of the "wigwam," which grew more and more deafening as it was prolonged. . . . Of course "Old Abe" was called out, and made an explanation of the matter. He stated that, some thirty years ago, then just emigrating to the State, he stopped with his mother's family, for one season, in what is now Macon county; that he built a cabin, *split rails* and cultivated a small farm down on the Sangamon river, some six or eight miles from Decatur. These, he was informed, were taken from that fence; but, whether they were or not, he had mauled many and many better ones since he had grown to manhood. The cheers were renewed with the same vigor when he concluded his remarks.²⁷

Oglesby, John Hanks and the other ardent Lincoln sup-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1860.

²⁵ "Recollections of Judge Franklin Blades" in *Abraham Lincoln By Some Men Who Knew Him*, 114-15. Blades was a delegate to the convention. The other man has been identified as Isaac D. Jennings, later sheriff of Macon County.

²⁶ It was John Hanks, and Lincoln's father was not the first pioneer in Macon County.

²⁷ *Ill. State Journal*, May 11, 1860.

porters had succeeded in stampeding the Illinois convention in favor of supporting Lincoln at the coming national convention. The uproar gradually died away, and the convention proceeded to ballot for the gubernatorial candidate. After three ballots Swett threw his votes to Yates, who was nominated on the fourth ballot. Yates "declared himself for the nominee of the Chicago Convention, but expressed a preference for Mr. Lincoln."²⁸

The remainder of the convention was an anti-climax; however, during the morning session of the second day's proceedings,

Judge Palmer offered a resolution, that Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and that the delegates to the Chicago Convention be instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination and to cast the vote of the State as a unit for him. Carried unanimously.²⁹

Lincoln was well started on his way toward the Executive Mansion, and old John Hanks had a profitable enterprise. He sold his two rails for a fancy price and then brought back a wagon load which he stored in Oglesby's barn. These he sold for a dollar apiece.³⁰

Four days after the state convention ended, Republican delegates converged upon Chicago for the national convention. Members of the Illinois delegation kept their pledge to Lincoln and worked as hard as they could for their favorite son. At noon on May 16 the Republican National Convention met at the Chicago Wigwam for the important business at hand. Two days later when time came for nominations, Lincoln's managers took advantage of the large number of Illinois men present and packed the Wigwam long before the session convened.³¹ If volume of noise and demonstration antics are effective in influencing delegates, Lincoln had a decided ad-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1860, telegraphic bulletin from Decatur, May 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1860, bulletin, May 10.

³⁰ Davis, *How Abraham Lincoln Became President*, 59.

³¹ *New York Tribune*, May 19, 1860; *Koerner's Memoirs*, II: 85.

vantage. As a result, when Judd presented his name the audience "greeted this nomination with perfectly deafening applause, the shouts swelling into a perfect roar, and being continued for several minutes, the wildest excitement and enthusiasm prevailing. . . . The pressure for Lincoln was tremendous."³² The third ballot gave Lincoln the victory.

At no time during the Chicago convention were the delegates allowed to forget that Lincoln was the "Rail Splitter."

The PRESS AND TRIBUNE building was illuminated from "turret to foundation" by the brilliant glare of a thousand lights. . . . On each side of the counting-room door stood a rail—out of the three thousand split by "honest Old Abe" thirty years ago on the Sangamon river bottoms. On the inside were two more, brilliantly hung with tapers whose numberless individual lights glistened like so many stars in contrast with the dark walnut color of the wood. . . . [Republicans] collected in crowds at the several hotels and shouldering rails marched in joyous triumph through our streets.³³

The rail symbol immediately spread throughout the North. One correspondent, returning to Cincinnati after the convention, reported that along with cheers for "old Abe," all along the line "at every station . . . there were . . . boys carrying rails . . . who were delighted with the idea of a candidate for the Presidency who thirty years ago had split rails on the Sangamon River—classic stream now and forevermore—and whose neighbors named him 'honest'."³⁴

The campaign ahead promised to be one of the most interesting and colorful since 1840. Even the *Chicago Press & Tribune*, a stanch Lincoln backer, pointed out the similarity of the two campaigns by asking: "Log Cabins and Hard Cider Come Again?"³⁵ But instead of log cabins springing up over night there were wigwams, patterned after the ones at Decatur and Chicago. These temporary structures served as headquarters for rank-and-file Republicans, and here the party leaders met and mapped their campaign strategy, not the least of

³² *New York Times*, May 19, 1860, dispatch from Chicago, May 18.

³³ *Chicago Press & Tribune*, May 19, 1860.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1860, quoting Murat Halstead in *Cincinnati Commercial*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1860.

which was keeping before the public the fence rail story. The workingman liked to associate Lincoln's youthful toil with his own labors. "Every man who is struggling to improve his fortune by honest toil and patient endeavor," explained one reporter, "feels that in ABRAHAM LINCOLN he has a generous and confiding friend, and dignified representative."³⁶

Rail Splitter clubs were organized throughout the northern states. As the Pennsylvania delegates left Chicago "they declared that in thirty days the whole Keystone State would be mauling rails with frantic enthusiasm. The old fence at Decatur is being bought up at ten dollars per rail and forwarded by express to all parts of the country. . . . Nothing can frustrate the irrepressible desire for 'those rails'."³⁷ One man wrote a personal letter to Lincoln, begging him to see that "a piece of a rail, or a rail entire, with the splitting of which you had some connexion" be forwarded to his Lincoln club.³⁸ Another man made "walking-canes" from the old rails and petitioned Lincoln for a lock of his hair to place inside the heads which were also to contain his picture.³⁹ Photographs of Lincoln were mounted in frames made from the old rails. Their special appeal was to the Lincoln Club rooms. A typical campaign illustration showed "Lincoln, Splitting Rails; a striking likeness, with a flat-boat in the distance."⁴⁰ At the Republican rally in Springfield "a flat-boat on wheels, representing Lincoln's early experience at New Salem," paraded near a float depicting "railsplitters at work."⁴¹ Every Republican was rail conscious. New Jersey promised "to furnish at least seven rails for the electoral college fence, by which

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1860, letter from Champaign County, May 25.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1860.

³⁸ George W. Copeland to Lincoln, Boston, June 18, 1860, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress. Copeland was president of the Lincoln Club of South Reading, ten miles from Boston.

³⁹ John M. Murry to Lincoln, Decatur, June 1, 1860, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Chicago Press & Tribune*, June 18, 1860.

⁴¹ *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 9, 1860.



—Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

THE RAIL SPLITTER

This life-size painting of Lincoln by an unknown artist figured prominently in the campaign of 1860.

Democracy is to be barred out from the avenues of power.”⁴² Lincoln’s eldest son, Robert, was often referred to as the “Prince of Rails.”⁴³ This nickname was suggested to the people by the visit of the Prince of Wales to Springfield on September 26, and clung to Robert even after the election.⁴⁴

Many of the original Rail Splitter clubs became known as the Wide Awakes. In New York City, for example, by September only the Eighteenth Ward club still clung to the name Rail Splitters.⁴⁵ However, the rail theme was still as prominent as ever. In the Wide Awake parades each man was generally equipped with a thin rail, a torch or lantern, a glazed cape and hat. The Wide Awakes were “the greatest feature of the campaign of 1860 . . . semi-military in character, political in purpose, and . . . unparalleled in the political annals of our country.”⁴⁶ Chicago had an organization called the Lincoln Rangers which was ultra-military; they drilled in the armory!⁴⁷

Wherever the Republicans held ratification meetings or rallies fence rails were sure to be an important feature of the publicity. Springfield held a “Grand Rally” on August 8 with five speaking stands. Oglesby spoke from one of these, and in the course of his speech he called up to the platform his partner in the original rail demonstration—old John Hanks. “Now John Hanks,” questioned Oglesby, “in the presence of this vast multitude, I ask you did you not split 3,000 rails with Abe Lincoln in Macon county . . . ?” To which Hanks replied, “We certainly did.” Great roars of applause followed this declaration. Overnight old John Hanks had become somewhat of a national hero. “Thousands took his hard and horny hand in theirs with a pleasure greater, no doubt, than they

⁴² *Chicago Press & Tribune*, May 30, 1860.

⁴³ Mrs. James C. Conkling to her son Clinton, Springfield, Oct. 20-22, 1860, Ill. State Historical Library.

⁴⁴ *New York Herald*, Feb. 12, 1861.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1860, letter signed “Rail Splitter.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1860.

⁴⁷ *Chicago Press & Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1860.

would feel in clasping that of any pampered scion of royalty, however worthy.”⁴⁸

Campaign newspapers were established, and capitalized upon the rail theme. There was a *Rail Splitter* issued at Chicago from June 23 to October 27, 1860, and Cincinnati also published a weekly paper called *The Rail Splitter* which ran from August 1 to October 27.

The Democratic newspapers made fun of the “silly subterfuges of the republicans to get up enthusiasm for their presidential ticket,” and one declared that the country needed a “hair splitter, not a ‘rail splitter.’”⁴⁹ Another poked fun at Lincoln thus:

We feel great confidence in the abundant good nature of Mr. Lincoln, that sooner than have any difficulty or hard feeling with his Southern friends and neighbors, he would go amongst them and split a few thousand rails on reasonable terms, and talk these small matters over in a friendly way, with a view of an entire reconciliation in the family.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the “Rail Splitter” swept on to victory just as had “Tippecanoe.” The maul and wedge became as much a part of the Lincoln tradition as his beard. Tad Lincoln did not think it was in “bad taste” to sing in the White House:

Old Abe Lincoln a rail splitter was he,
And he'll split the Confederacee.

When reproved by a friend, he replied: “Everybody in the world knows Pa used to split rails.”⁵¹

Did Lincoln spend as much time splitting rails as legend would lead us to believe? In his autobiographical sketch in the third person written for the campaign of 1860 Lincoln said:

His father and family settled a new place on the North side of the Sangamon river, at the junction of the timber-land and prairie, about ten miles Westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log-cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced

⁴⁸ *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 9, 14, 1860.

⁴⁹ *Peoria Democratic Union*, June 22, 1860.

⁵⁰ *Ill. State Journal*, June 5, 1860, quoting *Jonesboro Gazette*.

⁵¹ Julia Taft Bayne, *Tad Lincoln's Father* (Boston, 1931), 165.

and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though they are far from being the first, or only rails ever made by A[braham].⁵²

However, when Lincoln sent a brief autobiographical sketch to Jesse W. Fell, the secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, on December 20, 1859, he merely stated: "I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty two."⁵³

Old John Hanks recalled that "though it is not pleasant to refer back to it, well do I remember when we set out together in the cold winter to cut and maul rails on the Sangamon river, in Macon county, thirty years ago, to enclose his father's little home, and from day to day kept at work until the whole was finished and the homestead fenced in."⁵⁴

When William Dean Howells was writing a campaign biography of Lincoln, he sent James Quay Howard to interview people who had known Lincoln. Among those questioned was George Close who said that he had known Lincoln when he had lived near Decatur and had "helped him make rails for James Hanks and William Miller. Made about 1000 together."⁵⁵

In addition to these statements of affirmation there are accounts by other acquaintances or close friends which minimize or try to refute Lincoln's rail splitting. Henry C. Whitney, one of Lincoln's companions on the circuit, explained that "there was more romance than substance about this rail-splitting. Lincoln was not a hard worker."⁵⁶ John Conness, senator from California during Lincoln's administration, went so far as to claim that Lincoln had told him personally "that he never split a rail."⁵⁷

Probably the most reliable account of Lincoln's admis-

⁵² *Collected Works*, IV: 63.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III: 511-12.

⁵⁴ *The Rail Splitter* [Cincinnati], Aug. 15, 1860, quoting *Ill. State Chronicle*.

⁵⁵ Howard's notes, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

⁵⁶ Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, 74.

⁵⁷ Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York, 1886), 566.

sions is told by Noah Brooks, an intimate and highly trusted friend of Lincoln. Brooks accompanied Lincoln on his visit to General Hooker's Army of the Potomac (April 4-10, 1863) and heard Lincoln recount his experiences as a woodsman. Brooks reported:

We were driving through an open clearing where the Virginia forest had been felled by the soldiers, when Mr. Lincoln observed, looking at the stumps, "That's a good job of felling; they have got some good axemen in this army, I see." The conversation turning upon his knowledge of rail-splitting, he said, "Now let me tell you about that. I am not a bit anxious about my reputation in that line of business; but if there is any thing in this world that I am a judge of, it is of good felling of timber, but I don't remember having worked by myself at splitting rails for one whole day in my life." Upon surprise being expressed that his national reputation as a rail-splitter should have so slight a foundation, he said, "I recollect that, some time during the canvass for the office I now hold, there was a great mass meeting, where I was present, and with a great flourish several rails were brought into the meeting, and being informed where they came from, I was asked to identify them, which I did, with some qualms of conscience, having helped my father to split rails, as at other odd jobs. I said if there were any rails which I had split, I shouldn't wonder if those were the rails." Those who may be disappointed to learn of Mr. Lincoln's limited experience in splitting rails, may be relieved to know that he was evidently proud of his knowledge of the art of cutting timber, and explained minutely how a good job differed from a poor one, giving illustrations from the ugly stumps on either side.⁵⁸

The proximity of Brooks' account to the time of Lincoln's relating it, gives it more weight than other later reminiscences. John Hay, one of Lincoln's private secretaries, also attests to Lincoln's skill as an axeman. In his diary on August 13, 1863, he notes that Lincoln had objected to a statue by Power called "The Woodchopper" because the woodsman did not make "a sufficiently clean cut." All the evidence seems to suggest that Lincoln was an expert woodsman and deserved the sobriquet "Rail Splitter."

⁵⁸ Noah Brooks, "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXI (July, 1865), 227.

H. L. KINNEY AND DANIEL WEBSTER
IN ILLINOIS IN THE 1830's

BY COLEMAN McCAMPBELL

THE years spent in Illinois by Colonel Henry L. Kinney, before he went to Texas and became the founder of Corpus Christi, have special interest for two reasons: first, they reveal a personality, character and promoter-activity typical of what he was and did throughout his life; second, because of his relations with the Daniel Webster family.

Kinney was only sixteen years old when, in 1830, he left his Bradford County, Pennsylvania family home to seek adventure and fortune in Illinois. Little is known about him for the next three years. He claimed to have distinguished himself as an officer in the Black Hawk War, even though there is no official record of his having participated in it. Not until 1834, when he turns up at Peru, Illinois, "making a new farm on the west bank of Spring Creek,"¹ does Kinney emerge into sharp, documented focus. The following spring Kinney and Ulysses Spaulding erected the first building—a store.

¹ Henry S. Beebe, *The History of Peru [Illinois]*, (Peru, 1858), 156, gives the date as 1838; this is a typographical error. Elmer Baldwin, *History of La Salle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1877), 362, says that Kinney arrived in 1834.

*Coleman McCampbell is a New Yorker with Texas history as a hobby. For some years he has been doing research on H. L. Kinney, and the present article is a by-product of his book, *Texas Seaport* (1952), a history of Corpus Christi, the city which Kinney founded.*

They placed a small stock of goods in it under the charge of T. D. Brewster. On account of the steamers making this point the head of navigation, Peru had a large trade. The next year a postoffice was established, the mail being carried from Peoria by the river. Soon after, Colonel Kinney built a hotel opposite the present mill, and from this time buildings began to be erected in different parts of the town.²

Kinney lived on the farm four miles below town, and Brewster, their storekeeper, "having no lock with which to secure it [the store] against thieves, then few . . . used a pitchfork as a substitute." In 1837 Peru's first industry, a small sawmill built near the lower coal bank, was started.³

The year 1836 was an exciting one for most of the country. Speculation in land, starting at Chicago, brought rumors of sudden fortunes and encouraged a spirit of gambling throughout the state. New towns were laid out; many bought more town lots and farm land than they could pay for, much less sell.⁴ On July 4, 1836 ground was broken on the canal which was to extend from Chicago to Peru. This was the type of get-rich and promoter atmosphere that Kinney liked, and "upon the letting of work on the canal, he became a contractor for all that portion below the Little Vermillion, including locks, basin and channel, amounting to nearly a million of dollars. He soon embarked in other speculations and business, and became the most influential and noted man in this part of the state."⁵

Quick-rich prospects intrigued Daniel Webster, too, and in the spring of 1836 he sent his son, Fletcher, as agent to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to buy land he thought desirable. Through Fletcher and other agents, Webster invested heavily in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. These agents acquired "large farming tracts and town sites on partial pay-

² *History of La Salle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1886), I: 849. According to Beebe, *History of Peru*, 362, Kinney went into partnership with Daniel J. Townsend after Spaulding's death in 1836.

³ *The Past and Present of La Salle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1877), 306.

⁴ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 181-83.

⁵ Beebe, *History of Peru*, 156.

ments and credits.⁶ Webster, it is said, employed Abraham Lincoln to search land titles in Sangamon County, Illinois.⁷

While Fletcher Webster traveled considerably over Illinois and nearby states in search of land "buys," he made his headquarters at Peru and La Salle. Here he lived on a farm which had been purchased for his father and named "Salisbury" after Webster's home town in New Hampshire.

Webster, worried about his son's health, urged him in a letter of June 25, 1836 to return home for a visit: "I hope you will leave some faithful 'land-lookers' to explore for you in your absence. You may go back in the fall with as much capital as you think you can use to advantage."⁸

Kinney was doubtless one of the "land-lookers," as Fletcher could not have escaped being impressed by him. One observer, in a February 4, 1837 letter from Peru, gives this glowing picture which could refer only to Kinney:

And but a few short months ago, the land there was entered by an enterprising Pennsylvanian (one who by his business talents, enterprise, and unspotted reputation, has amassed a munificent fortune, and who can be pointed to as a distinguished example of the success which attends well-directed efforts) for a dollar and a quarter per acre—now it will readily bring from 5,000 to 10,000 dollars per acre.⁹

In 1836 Daniel Webster, "tired of sacrifices" which he had been making by remaining in Congress, wanted to resign and return to law practice. The opposition of his friends prevailed.¹⁰ The following year he set out to look after his land investments in the West, and hoped that the trip would help make him "the preferred presidential candidate of western Whigs."¹¹

⁶ Clyde A. Duniway, "Daniel Webster and the West," *Minnesota History*, Vol. IX, no. 1 (March, 1928), 10.

⁷ Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Real Daniel Webster* (New York, 1924), 73.

⁸ Fletcher Webster, ed., *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1857), II: 20-21.

⁹ *Letters from a Rambler in the West* (Philadelphia, 1837). Beebe, *History of Peru*, 156-57, states: "In 1837 and the early part of 1838, everybody's movements appeared to be regulated by those of Col. Kinney. He was the central Sun from whom all lesser orbs borrowed their light."

¹⁰ Claude Moore Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1930), II: 59-60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18. Duniway, "Webster and the West," 10.

Due to his scale of living and his heavy land investments, Webster was short on cash in 1837 and borrowed \$3,000 from Caleb Cushing¹² before setting out early in May on his western tour. Among his numerous stops were: Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Maysville, Lexington, Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Jacksonville, Springfield, Peru and Chicago. Of this trip, Claude M. Fuess, his biographer, acclaimed: "Webster's western tour was a remarkable success and a striking tribute to his personality. More like a king than a senator, he was greeted everywhere with adulation and spoke before immense throngs in each city."¹³

There were many high spots to Webster's tour, and a number of them came from his association with Kinney. It seems certain that "the handsome steamer" *H. L. Kinney* used by a committee of St. Louis citizens to meet the Webster party was named after him.¹⁴ The party consisted of Mrs. Webster (his second wife), Julia Webster (nineteen years old, daughter by his first wife), and William Pitt Fessenden, Webster's godson—invited as "a young friend . . . of sufficient discretion and ability to speak for him when necessary."¹⁵

The Senator's stop at Springfield was notable as it made possible Abraham Lincoln's first meeting with Webster. Lincoln, leader of the Whigs in the Illinois House of Representatives and a great admirer of Webster, was one of his hosts at a barbecue held at Porter's grove west of town.¹⁶

Several accounts are given of Webster's stop at Peru to visit his farm and Fletcher, and of his visit to Chicago. Webster was given a public dinner at Peru and Colonel Kinney headed a delegation to escort him from Peru to Chicago. The

¹² Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, II: 62. Webster borrowed from Cushing over a period of years and much of it was never paid back. See Claude M. Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing* (New York, 1923), II: 83-91.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹⁴ William A. Wood, "Daniel Webster's Visit to Missouri," *Magazine of American History*, XIX (June, 1881), 513-16.

¹⁵ Francis Fessenden, *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden* (New York, 1907), I: 10-15.

¹⁶ Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, II: 64.

Webster party rode into Chicago in a carriage provided by Kinney. Two accounts describe the carriage as an open barouche drawn by four cream-colored horses. Another says the vehicle was Kinney's private carriage and states that the horses were "wearing silver-mounted harness and other trappings."¹⁷ Arriving in this style, Webster created a sensation. Kinney, as might be expected, was more than casually interested in the Webster trip and in making an impression. In referring to Webster's ride from the Illinois River to Chicago, Henry H. Hurlbut says:

[It was] conducted by Mr. H. S. [L.] Kinney, a canal contractor, who, if tradition does not belie him, had an axe to grind, and *it was ground*, we have heard, at a tremendous cost to some one . . . Every wheel-vehicle, every horse and mule in town, it is said, was in requisition that day, and the Senator was met some miles out by a numerous delegation from this the *new city*, who joined in the procession . . . The column came over Randolph street bridge, and thence to the parade ground within the Fort. There were guns at the Fort, which were eloquent of course.¹⁸

Nathaniel J. Brown, a canal builder and large-scale promoter in Chicago at the time, brings out two things about Kinney in connection with Webster's visit which are not mentioned in other accounts. He states:

On the eve of his [Webster's] departure a great ball was given in his honor at the Lake House, at which Col. Kinney presented to him the carriage, horses and harness . . . Webster accepted the gift and shipped the horses and carriage to his home in Massachusetts. In this connection it may be stated that Col. Kinney had become greatly enamored of Webster's daughter and embraced the opportunity to propose marriage. It is said that the great expounder of the constitution was not unwilling that his daughter should become the wife of the handsome and wealthy Illinoisan, but the young lady herself said "no." Kinney returned to Peru, sold out his interests there and went to Mexico.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 65; Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), 447; H. L. Conrad, *Nathaniel J. Brown, Biographical Sketch and Reminiscences of a Noted Pioneer* (Chicago, 1892), 14. He mentions a pair of horses, the others say there were four.

¹⁸ Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities*, 447.

¹⁹ Conrad, *Nathaniel J. Brown*. In a previous article, "Colonel Kinney's Romance with Daniel Webster's Daughter," *Crystal Reflector* (Brief-life Junior Assistance Club magazine, Corpus Christi, Texas), June, 1939, I was inclined to put this down as legend, but the more research I do on Kinney the more likely his proposal to Julia

It seems plausible that Kinney did make a gift of the horses and carriage to Webster, and that Webster—accustomed to gifts and luxury—accepted. It also seems plausible that Kinney, impulsive, an opportunist, and something of an Irish romantic, did propose to Julia. They had been together at Peru, on the trip to Chicago, and for several days in Chicago. Kinney had been closely associated with her brother Fletcher, and got along well with Daniel Webster.

If Kinney did propose to Julia, it is easy to see why she turned him down. Young Fessenden found Mrs. Webster "very sociable and agreeable, and Miss Webster bashful, but possessed of a very intelligent face and good conversational accomplishments." As the trip progressed he wrote:

Mrs. Webster and daughter are sick and tired with glory; their fatigue must be excessive, and as to the show, Mrs. Webster, though proud of her husband, has little taste for it, and poor Julia none at all; if Daniel was but half as winning as either his wife or daughter, I would give more for his chances [of becoming president].²⁰

Julia had her father's "great black lustrous eyes,"²¹ and, while many spoke of her as attractive, no one referred to her as beautiful, except perhaps through courtesy or legend. Others describe her as attractive but frail.²² However, she never lacked attention, always disliked show, and was ever independent, often turning down invitations which the family considered important so she could accept engagements she thought would be more to her liking. In September, 1839 in London, she married Samuel Appleton Appleton, a Bostonian.

The implication in Brown's reminiscences is that, after Julia's refusal to marry him, Kinney returned to Peru and sold out his holdings because of a broken heart. This is not

seems. Beebe, *History of Peru*, 157-58, says Kinney's "address and manners were captivating in the extreme. . . . His hospitality and liberality were circumscribed only by the means at his command at the moment."

²⁰ Fessenden, *William Pitt Fessenden*, I: 12, 15.

²¹ Peter Harvey, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1878), 331.

²² Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, II: 361. In 1848 Julia died of tuberculosis.

plausible. Kinney remained in Peru for the balance of 1837 and for about six months in 1838. The panic of 1837 developed while Webster was visiting the West. The sudden drop in Illinois land values and Kinney's many involvements doubtless caused him to sell out his holdings in 1838.

It is believed that Kinney went to Florida and served in the Seminole War, later going to Havana, Cuba, to engage in trade, arriving in Texas at the close of 1838. If so, he could not have lingered long in Florida and Havana, and his connection, if any, with the Seminole War must have been brief indeed. His turning up in Texas is logical; he visited the Texas coast in 1832 and became friendly with the Irish colony of *empresarios* McMullen and McGloin at San Patricio, near Corpus Christi, and formed desirable contacts with a number of Mexican rancheros.²³

Fletcher had been active prior to his father's visit in 1837, for in the draft of Daniel Webster's will, drawn up in November, 1836, he mentioned "lands, city lots, Companies, Corporations, &c, in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, & Wisconsin."²⁴ It is evident that Webster borrowed heavily from others besides Caleb Cushing to make these transactions. The panic of 1837 left him in a bad spot. In September, 1838, he wrote his son Edward: "I owe a great deal of money."²⁵

St. Bede's College, a Benedictine monastery, is located on two hundred acres between Peru and Spring Valley on what is known as the Webster Farm. A history of the college notes that:

On August 8, 1837, Henry L. Kenney [Kinney] gave a warranty deed for the land to Daniel Webster for \$15,000. On this land Webster built his famous log cabin. . . . The *Weekly Call*, August 10, 1889, describes it thus: "It is built upon the bluff of a deep ravine through which runs a rippling brook of sparkling spring water. The brook is lined on either side

²³ Marvin Lee Diviney, "The History of Nueces County to 1850," M.A. thesis, 1933, MS., University of Texas; M. B. Lamar Papers, IV: 213-14, *ibid.*

²⁴ Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, II: 341.

²⁵ *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster . . . National Edition* (Boston, 1903), XVIII: 40.

by overhanging forest trees upon which clamber the hundreds of wild grapes which abound in this section. A rustic bridge across the stream and a flight of steps leads up to the Webster log cabin which is built of hewn logs and has since been clapboarded on the outside and lathed and plastered inside."²⁶

A sidelight on Kinney is given in Fletcher's letter from Peru on December 28, 1837, to his father:

Since I wrote you last I have made a long visit to St. Louis, on business for the Col. . . . I shall be very glad to see Lowrie; though I am somewhat afraid that he will be spoilt by the Col's. rascally Irishmen who are the laziest set of good for nothing rogues I ever saw. We have had a good deal of trouble with them; I shall hail Ray's arrival with great pleasure as a signal for their dispersion. We are surrounded by Irish—more than half the Col's. tenants & all his workmen & women are from Green Erin. They steal from us by the wholesale. I hope a few years will make a great change in the population of Peru & Salisbury.²⁷

According to Fuess and other biographers, Webster often mentioned a desire to develop this farm to such an extent that he could live on it in comfort when he retired from public life.

Kinney remained on friendly terms with the Webster family, and visited them in the East. From Washington, May 11, 1838, Daniel Webster wrote to Nathaniel Ray Thomas, agent-manager of his Peru farm:

I have not heard from you since you wrote me that you proposed to visit Chicago, for the purpose of obtaining horse-power, to carry on your farm-work Colonel Kinney is now here, and will wait Fletcher's return [from Boston], and then they will go West together. . . . The Colonel appears to be managing his affairs here very well. Indeed, I believe he finds little difficulty in arranging matters to his satisfaction. . . . I have made an arrangement with Col. Kinney, respecting enlarging Salisbury. . . . But it is agreed . . . that White Hall shall be added to Salisbury; that the section in the southwest of White Hall, along, by, or near Spring Creek, shall also be added, but that there shall be a reservation of the mill privilege on the creek, as the Colonel does not wish to convey that. 'Tis also agreed that he shall convey the tract, or the greater part of it, which lies between Salisbury and White Hall, on one side, and the river on the other. This extension of the lines will cause Salisbury to comprehend a thousand acres, or thereabouts;

²⁶ Data supplied in July, 1939 by the Rev. Edward Mahoney, O.B.S., librarian at St. Bede's College, from M.A. thesis, 1935, "The History of St. Bede's College."

²⁷ Claude H. Van Tyne, ed., *The Letters of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1902), 665.

and this accords with the original plan which I entertained, of making a farm of one thousand acres. When this is accomplished you will have something to do in the farming line. . . . The Colonel thinks you are a pretty clever fellow. I tell him not to make up his mind too soon.²⁸

The letter was replete with details on how Thomas would want stock, tools and supplies and Webster's intention "to furnish the means of providing these." If Kinney had any plans to sell out and leave Peru at this time, he was careful not to let Daniel Webster and others know it. Webster was still favorably impressed with Kinney's ability. Kinney was in Washington, hoping to arrange refinancing of his own holdings, as well as to unload some. It is believed that Kinney, shortly after this Washington visit, departed from Peru.

Fletcher wrote his father on September 26, 1838, concerning the difficult problems of the Peru farm:

Things occur every day to delay me and every day I rejoice that I am still here to attend to them, although I am indeed most anxious to see you all and my wife and child again. . . . If Ray Thomas were here I should be more able to leave, but there is no one to take proper charge of the farm; the men are becoming clamorous for pay. . . . Your farm is not carried on well nor can it be on the present plan. It is too expensive. . . . Ray has done all he can & everything has been made the best of.²⁹

The situation did not improve. On May 31, 1840, Webster wrote to his son:

You seem to be hesitating about com'g East. No doubt, it is a subject demandi'g due considerations. You seem also to think that you prefer Peru to any place East, except N York or Washington. . . . Much ought to depend on what you think of the healthfulness of Peru. My property in the west will want attention from somebody, & since Ray's [Nathaniel Ray Thomas] death I have thought of no way but of putt'ng it with your management.³⁰

Webster was never able to realize a profit on his property in Illinois, or his other holdings in the West. As early as 1839 he wrote to Samuel Jaudon (a banker in London, for-

²⁸ Fletcher Webster, *Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, II: 36-38.

²⁹ Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, 667-68. Fletcher had married Caroline Story White, a niece of Justice Joseph Story, on Nov. 27, 1836. Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, II: 360.

³⁰ Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, 222.

merly a cashier in the Bank of the United States), hoping to find buyers in England for his Western holdings. He said, "The Canal will probably be finished in 3 Seasons more; & [then] must at once become a great point of traffic & exchange of merchandise," and, after describing his property at Peru, he added, "I think that fair and competent judges would estimate my property in & about Peru, at 100,000 Dollars."³¹

When pushed (very gently, all things considered) by Caleb Cushing for repayment of loans, Webster would refer to his real estate in the West; and, in November, 1849, he deeded more than six hundred Illinois acres (known as "the town-plot of 'Rock Island City,' so-called") to Cushing, only to find they had been sold for non-payment of taxes and were of little value anyway. As Fuess says, "In his later years, Webster's western property became like the 'Tennessee lands' in Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age*, full of promise even when poverty seemed about to descend."³²

Even though Kinney sold his Peru holdings under distress circumstances,³³ he remained friendly with the Webster family for many years. This is especially true of his relations with Fletcher Webster during Kinney's Central American filibuster ventures in the 1850's.³⁴ Both Daniel and Fletcher Webster always hoped for a financial bonanza; and, to this extent, their ambitions and hopes paralleled those of the adventurous Kinney.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 725.

³² Fuess, *Life of Caleb Cushing*, II: 85-87.

³³ Beebe, *History of Peru*, 157, states: "In 1838, their [Kinney and Daniel J. Townsend] affairs fell into confusion and Kinney left. It is wonderful how many people, in the town and vicinity, were ruined by his failure. Many, who had been brought here from Pennsylvania at his expense, and had lived upon his bounty while here, were suddenly ruined."

³⁴ William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916), 101, 105; Coleman McCampbell, *Texas Seaport* (New York, 1952), 253.

A FRENCHMAN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO IN 1886

TRANSLATED BY GEORGES J. JOYAUX

LITTLE is known about L. de Cotton except that he spent about four months, from June to September, 1886, on a trip through Canada and the United States, and that the account of his travels was published in Paris in 1889 under the title *A Travers le Dominion et la Californie*. Not only is the author himself elusive but the only known copy of his work is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

De Cotton kept an almost day-by-day diary and the first entry, June 1, 1886, was written in London where he was making final arrangements for the trip. Two days later he sailed from Liverpool aboard the *Polynesian*, and in another ten days he landed at Levis, across the St. Lawrence River from Quebec. After several weeks in eastern and central Canada he visited in the Great Lakes area where he was particularly interested in the landmarks of early French missions in the United States.

After leaving Chicago the Frenchman visited Denver, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Reno, and the Pacific Coast where he

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devotes several interesting pages to San Francisco. The last entry was written at St. Louis on September 23, 1886 and discloses the tourist's plan to sail from New Orleans on his return to France. In summing up his experiences in North America in this last entry De Cotton said:

My journal suddenly comes to an end at St. Louis. Written day by day these notes do not pretend to be a study of North America, and were not intended for publication. When he was writing these impressions, the traveler only intended to chat with his family and was only looking for the pleasure of living every evening with his family; thus, when the hour of departure was near, the pen had a right to take a rest.

But if I admit not to have brought back from a trip of four and a half months the elements of a serious study, why then roam throughout the world in such a manner, they will ask me? Is it not a waste of money and energy, just to satisfy a futile curiosity? Well, do not be too harsh, reader, for after crossing twice this huge continent and after comparing with one another so many grand sites—rich or barren—I have discovered what I was hardly looking for, that is that the most beautiful country in the world is the one where one is loved, and for that discovery, I do not think I have paid too high a price.

Here are excerpts from *A Travers le Dominion et la Californie* in which De Cotton gives his impressions of Chicago:

CHICAGO, JULY 31ST [1886]

In Chicago there are some terrible days, and today is one. I had to retire to my cabin, unable even to endure the weight of my clothes, or to find anything interesting to do. According to the papers, the temperature the day before yesterday was 110 degrees F., which is about 43 degrees C.; if they did not exaggerate, you can see that the sun has not spent all its heat in Europe when it reaches America. Yet, if one suffers outdoors, the hotels are much better ventilated than in Europe, and, thanks to the draft I always managed to have between my window and my door, I was able to

sleep at night. Everywhere, furthermore, one can find ice-cold water and lemonade, and finally, in Chicago I saw real fruit for the first time. There are loads of them, of all kinds, from bananas and pineapples to pears, peaches, etc....Except for the grapes, which all have the atrocious flavor of fox characteristic of American grapes, the other fruits are delicious and sold in large quantity. Everywhere there are small portable shops, settled at street corners, to refresh the passers-by. But let us say a few words of the city itself; it well deserves them.

Chicago, in Indian, means "the stinking beast." It was also given the more modern name of "Porkopolis," and its jealous rivals claim that the latter name is deserved both by its inhabitants and their industry. While making note of this appreciation, I would like to think it is exaggerated, though I did not make the necessary studies to have a well-founded opinion—anyway, I was first struck by something else. We reached Chicago in the morning through the beautiful blue lakeways. Suddenly, on a low coast, a cloud of smoke appeared. I was told it was the city; indeed, I noticed two long piers and a breakwater, forming an artificial harbor quite similar to Cherbourg's. Next I distinguished, through a black fog, huge constructions, similar to what must have been the granaries of the Egyptians. A small river crosses Chicago; American genius dug it, widened it, and canalized it for the modest sum of \$22 million. As a result, ships can now penetrate to the very heart of the city, and even go beyond, quite far in the country. Our ship made way slowly in the canal, stirring up the infectious and muddy waters, covered with horrible looking debris. Quite a few other ships were here too; some moving slowly, puffing their black smoke and uttering raucous yells. Others lined up along the elevators, the long arms of which enter their flank; and still others were moored at endless piers piled with merchandise.

On the banks, as far as one can see, there are huge red brick buildings with large factory-like windows, adorned with inscriptions several meters high. Over all there drifted a cloud of thick smoke, ejected by thousands of chimneys. Some people complain of Saint-Etienne! It is nothing in comparison to Chicago, and asthmatics should never choose

this place for retreat. Those who have just arrived positively suffocate in the city. All the smells of industry grab them at the throat. Meanwhile, we move up the river, through a series of bridges linking the two banks. These bridges turn on a central pivot, and are successively opened or shut so as to allow the passage of ships or people. Therefore, we are forced to stop two or three times. Heavens! What crowds on these bridges! As long as they remain open, endless lines of vehicles, going in both directions, cross the bridge at monotonous speed, reminding me of the interminable army convoys.

The moment of the arrival was painful; I felt an instinctive need to glance behind, and something cold pressed my heart. Oh! What an awful city! But, after all, "Go ahead, never mind!" the American motto says. Furthermore, there was aboard the same ship a young man eighteen years old, coming to Chicago to look for "fortune," with no relations and no money.... This was certainly not the time to weaken! After all, the feeling did not last long, it could not last. Now I am perfectly accustomed, and even the smoke seems to me less and thinner.

Chicago is a huge factory in which 700,000 inhabitants work—or look for work. Sixteen railroad lines terminate there, and to leave town, travelers can choose among ten stations. Do not look for any monuments in Chicago; yet, you may notice the post office, the board of trade, the city hall, the court of justice, all of striking size, and unlike others, built of stone. On the whole, the architecture is heavy and unattractive. Almost all the buildings in town are built of red brick, which blackens rapidly under the effect of the smoke. In the business section, houses are almost as high as in Lyon; they have high, wide windows and do not seem to have roofs, giving the whole city the appearance of a huge factory. In the streets you cannot find stores with rich displays, and there is nothing to please the eyes—no carriages either, but more trucks than Liverpool, and a net of streetcars like nowhere else. On the wooden sidewalks, one sees neither idle strollers or "belles" showing off their new dresses. In Chicago the only interesting question is how to make money, not to show off. And they surely make money, for, if they do not, how does one ex-

plain entire streets crowded with banks? From time to time one learns that a banker has gone to Toronto; yet their number does not seem to decrease. Toronto is the refuge for all Americans who leave Chicago hurriedly; it is their Belgium; once they are in Canada they are safe. There are so many dishonest people, that the states have opened discussions on how to establish extradition laws to cope with this problem. One cannot read a paper without learning that some businessman has taken a trip for his "health." How could it be otherwise? Stealing is in no way dishonest in America; the only dishonor is failure. If a man has made a fortune through several bankruptcies, without ever being caught by the law, people say: "He is smart," and he will be esteemed and respected by all his fellow citizens. Americans are certainly logical. Their adopted motto is: "Make money!"....

Well, if there are no monuments, what can be found in Chicago?...First, I want to mention this astonishing miracle of American life, which could produce, in a few years, this colossal city of 700,000 souls, perhaps the greatest trading center in the world after New York. When you see the machines, the storehouses, the elevators, this infernal movement, this closely built area—I do not know how many times larger than Paris—and think that in 1872 [1871] there was nothing in this marsh land except a heap of warm ashes, it confounds the mind.

None of the new inventions (which our own cities fail to adopt) are lacking here. I was telling you a while ago about the streetcars crossing the city in all directions. Some of them are not pulled by horses, neither do they work with steam or any other outside means of traction. The cars are dragged by an underground cable, to which they are tied by a "claw" running in a groove right in the middle of the street, all along the way. When the driver wants to stop the car, he pulls a lever which loosens the claw, and another which slows the wheels. Nothing can be simpler or faster. Naturally, the cable must have a closed circuit. So, at the two ends of the run, the tracks make a circle around a group of houses—called blocks in America—and then, the same streetcar which a while ago was running northwards is now going southwards. I visited the machines which work hundreds of these cars and I must confess that I did

not understand completely the mystery of the mechanism. I needed a French guide. To provision this low plain, deprived of drinking water, huge works were needed, much more important than those required for street transportation. It was necessary to bring water from the lake, and in order to have pure water to get it several miles away from shore. On the other hand, they could not think of emptying sewage in the lake; unfortunately, the basin of Lake Michigan is enclosed by a range of hills not far from the city. It was necessary, therefore, to pierce this obstacle; now the water of a bathtub filled by the [lake] . . . empties in the basin of the Mississippi.

I was told that there were beautiful parks in Chicago, and Lincoln Park had especially been recommended to my attention. On Thursday, the day of my arrival, I decided to visit it....I certainly did not expect to spend such a pleasant afternoon. Lincoln Park is a wonderland, a paradise. If Americans are only partially successful in their attempts to be architects, one must confess that they are our masters—and unequaled—in the art of designing gardens. Nowhere in Europe did I see anything to compare with it. I am quite aware of the fact that the Yankees had, from the start, something that one will look for vainly in France, namely the beautiful lake, along which the gardens stretch, making it easy to create the most pleasant walks and to obtain numberless varied vistas. Also, they had trees. What skill they showed in taking advantage of these opportunities! The final result would not, perhaps, please every one. There is no overall design, no main lines. Lenotre and the artists of the "Grand Siècle" no doubt would be somewhat at a loss; these gardens would please more the "amateurs" of the next century. The unfortunate Marie Antoinette's court would have gone to pieces had the marquises been given the chance to stroll under these cool shades, where the eye is constantly ravished by the discovery—with each detour—of a new *bosquet*, or of an unexpected creek. In the center of the park, there is a huge empty space, transformed into a flower garden, arranged in a French design. Here again, the gardens of the old countries are surpassed! Again, art was successful in the beautiful arrangement of the flower beds, and in the harmony of their

colors. Huge vases, filled with long sheafs of flowers, concealed by twisted vines falling to the ground, accompany the dark paths in the distance. I wonder at the talent displayed in the arrangement of all these gardens.

But who is this man of bronze who broods on a stone pedestal, over there? Schiller! No...! What are you doing here, in front of these flowers, you bilious poet? Such a place would have been better occupied by one of our poets, and the choice was quite open. In another clearing, I see another group; it represents *sauvages*, and the inscription beneath reads: "To the blending of races." Indeed, races are quite blended in Chicago. On a normal street, you can generally see at the same time, Negroes, Indians, yellows, and several shades of white. Artistically arranged, they could form *parterres*.... In the gardens, American "freedom" is all triumphant. In Europe, willingly or not, flower beds are respected. Ah, indeed! it is quite different here! Not a blade of grass is left; everywhere happy groups have invaded the lawns, while the boats float on artificial lakes, cricket, ball, and all kinds of games... are played on land. One game particularly interested me. A dozen young boys and girls are playing that game, which would be silly were it not for the penalties inflicted upon the loser. When a girl makes an error, the victorious young man kisses her. It is done in a most pleasant way, and I wonder at the oddity of fate and destiny which seem to weigh on the prettiest girls. As for the boys, since I did not see a single one of them lose, I do not know what their punishment is supposed to be....

Not everyone is playing games. There are many groups sitting around white tablecloths with baskets full of food scattered all around to prove that those who play did not forget the practical side of life. Others, in great number, swing or sleep in hammocks; others again, more numerous... "lay" in the shade in most relaxed poses, reading, chatting, sleeping. Shoes are abandoned at the foot of a tree, hats are hanging from the branches....

Chicago has at least two other parks. This morning I went to look at Jackson or South Park, located near the lake.... It took me half an hour to get there by train. Jackson Park looks more like the parks you are accustomed to—like the Bois de Boulogne, for example. It is also larger than

Lincoln Park, vistas are far deeper, and you see very few hedges so arranged as to create shade for the *flirteurs* and the melancholic moralist....The lawns are maintained in good condition. Except for a few frantic ball players, and...families lunching on the grass, one meets very few people in this park. Picnicking groups and joyous parties take refuge...farther down, toward a less developed part of the park hardly outlined. When I went there, joy reigned completely, and dancing, too, to violins and harps. As far as the eye can reach there are clearings among the tall trees and the bushes. The landscape designers of Chicago will have a free hand here.

That is enough, perhaps too much indeed, about Chicago parks. I only saw two of them, thank God. The reason why I discuss them to such length is that they afford the only pleasant touch in this awful city. Lincoln Park has, furthermore, an added attraction for tourists: a rather complete collection of the inhabitants of the American forests, from the larger animals such as buffalo, deer and moose, to the smaller ones like beavers, prairie dogs, etc....

Chicago is famous the world over for its slaughterhouses. Not only do they supply the butcher shops of several large cities—among them New York—but they also flood Europe with their canned meat. I could not avoid visiting them, and I know you are impatiently awaiting for me to say something about them. I do so quite unwillingly, having been deeply disgusted by what I saw. It so happened that I made my visit on a Friday; fortunately indeed, for when one leaves the place, he feels like being a vegetarian for the rest of his life....

The slaughterhouses are about one hour by streetcar from the section of town where I live. The buildings spread over what could be a rather large village. Thousands of people work there, usually paying no attention whatsoever to tourists. Alone, it would have been impossible for me to see anything, and furthermore, I would not have been able to leave the place after I got in; I needed a guide. All the persons I was sent to by my acquaintances were out of town. They were all resting, not in the country—Americans are not acquainted with the pleasure of rural life—but in spas, or in resorts on the lake shores. The best I could do was to

hire an American guide. With a lot of goodwill on both sides, and the help of a pencil and a notebook, we managed, if not well, at least sufficiently.

Before reaching the slaughterhouses, we went by huge corrals, filled with animals. All of them are not destined for the Gemonies; the herds, sent here from all parts of the country are assembled in these corrals, where they form a permanent market. Cowboys and rich farmers ride around the corrals. They either own some of the cattle within the enclosures, or, on the contrary, intend to buy some. Large dogs, with the faces of bandits, are waiting near the gates for the herds which will be entrusted to them. Many cattle leaving Chicago go to graze in the ranges of Manitoba. The companies which own the slaughterhouses...buy cattle just like everyone else, and unfortunate indeed are the herds which catch their eyes. The animals from the latter category are assembled in special corrals, which open on several wooden tunnels into which the animals are pushed. As these galleries are suspended above the streets, the tourists can hear the enraged stampede above their heads.

In the part of the slaughterhouses reserved for pigs, the tunnels open on rooms large enough for about twenty hogs when they are packed tightly together. They can enter these rooms through a trapdoor; when the rooms are filled, the trap shuts back, and the work begins. Three men perform. One man hangs the pig by its hind legs; the next man pulls a lever which lifts it from the ground hind first; thus it is hanging, head down, neck stretched, in front of the third man, the executioner who stabs the victim twice in the neck. It takes only a few seconds to perform the successive operations. While the animal convulses and its blood flows profusely, the chain which holds it slides on an inclined ramp. Twelve feet away or so, another worker unhooks the agonizing animal, which then falls in a stream of boiling water. Dragged by another chain, the pig rolls to a complicated set of brushes. The defunct hog is grabbed and then rubbed from head to feet so strongly that the dirtiest pig comes out of the brushes white and attractive.... As to the next set of operations, and the odors which come out of all these rooms, let me forget about them.

For the cattle, the operation is somewhat different.

The long gallery opens on a...series of boxes large enough for two animals. These stalls....have no ceilings but are crossed overhead by a wooden bridge. A man, rifle in hand, walks continuously on this bridge. As he walks he shoots each animal right in the middle of its forehead, slightly below the horns; the animal then drops heavily to the floor. The man fires carelessly without even aiming his rifle, each time throwing away the empty cartridge, and once in a while attracting the attention of an animal which turns its head, by a whistle or a blow from the butt of his gun. When the gun is too dirty or too hot, another one is handed to him, and the exercise continues. If this spectacle is pitiful, the next one is worse. After the murder, a trapdoor opens, and one after the other the animals are dragged by chains to a large room where at least twenty animals are skinned and butchered at the same time, after the men finish breaking with a mallet the heads of those which have not stopped breathing. Often, the operation begins even before the animals have stopped stirring. Here again allow me to forget the rest. As for me, I was spared nothing, though I would have liked to leave the place....They also wanted to show us the "mortuary" room; there, thousands of cattle, split in the middle, await in endless lines the refrigerator railroad cars which will take them away, a vision worthy of Bluebeard. A guard, a lantern in his hand, takes tourists through the lines of animals. I protested and fled, not so much because of the frightful sight, but because in this room the temperature is several degrees below zero, and we had just gone through a furnace. I felt a cold coming on.

This sickening visit had at least a statistical value. In the twelve months period ending last March 17, there came to Chicago 6,863,678 hogs, 1,902,818 cattle, and 1,010,540 sheep. Of these, many were sold: 1,896,478 hogs, 724,348 cattle, 247,927 sheep. The rest were slaughtered in Chicago, namely, 4,967,200 hogs, 1,178,470 cattle, 762,613 sheep. A single company employs 3,000 workers in the summer, 5,000 in the winter. In the winter, an average of 2,000 cattle and 12,000 hogs are killed daily, and in the summer, an average of 1,700 cattle and 5,000 hogs....

It is difficult for Frenchmen to imagine the fortunes that can be made in America. A certain [George M.] Pull-

man, inventor and owner of all the railroad cars of the same name used in America, owns a whole town, his very own (a few miles away from Chicago). He is more than its king; he is the despot, the tyrant....

I live in the most aristocratic hotel in town. The price is not high: eight francs a day for the room only, for I found a way out of the high rates. In America, they usually charge so much a day for room and board. If you express a desire to be treated "on the European plan," you are no longer forced to take your meals at the hotel, and you pay only for the room. This is fine indeed, for when one stays in a large city, it is quite often impossible to get back to the hotel on time for meals. I should add that the European plan is not offered in all American cities.

Large American hotels are like palaces, prepared to accommodate several hundred persons. Invariably the entrance opens on a spacious lobby, in the rear of which is the office. This lobby is a public place; it is always packed with people, either listening to the news, or watching the travelers, or yawning idly—in brief, killing time. The lobby opens on restaurants, on reading rooms, writing rooms, lounging rooms and others, and also on the inevitable bar, generally concealed from public view. The bar is more indispensable for the American than the restaurant; if during his meals he has the sobriety of a camel, watch him before and after and you will be amply informed. On the second floor, a whole series of over-decorated drawing rooms and boudoirs opens on a gallery covered with the softest of rugs. I notice that in this country they particularly like a kind of two-seated armchair, shaped like a "Z." The drawing rooms are most luxurious. Generally the hotel rooms are quite comfortable, but plain; they have excellent beds, but with cane armchairs and always gas lights. The best rooms have an adjacent bathroom, \$1 extra. In all rooms there is running water. Certainly, this latter disposition must have been adopted in order to simplify the service, which is reduced to its very minimum. You can neither have your coat brushed, nor your shoes polished! In fact, it is even recommended not to leave them at the door....

I will leave Chicago tomorrow night or Monday morning, so I will not have to travel on a Sunday. Also, I will

have time to attend a pontifical high mass at the Jesuit Fathers in honor of Saint Ignace, whose saint's day they are celebrating. The Jesuit Fathers have a college of their own here, and furthermore their church is a parish, the most important in town. I went there for a short visit; but there was not a single French father, only Belgians, and I did not disturb them. At the door, I met an odd character serving as doorman, and I immediately started talking to him. Tomorrow, he told me, he will place me next to the lay-clerks in church, away from the suffocating and smelling crowd....

I forgot to mention one of Chicago's curiosities—the tunnel under the river. It is similar to the one in London.

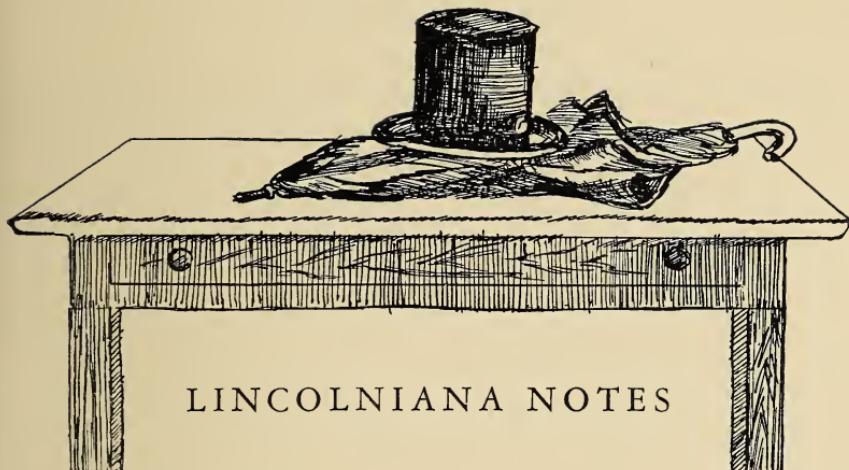
Tomorrow evening I am leaving for Winnipeg. I will go through St. Paul and Minneapolis, twin cities, unimportant yesterday and now among the most important centers in America.

Speaking of gambling, Americans are avid gamblers, and gambling places run wild despite the vigilance and the regular raids of the police. In order to indulge their passion for gambling without danger, an old boat is equipped as a gambling place. At a time agreed upon, the old ship leaves the pier, while the gamblers of the area rent small boats and row out to it. On the lake they can laugh at the police, for they are in neutral territory....

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1ST

I just got back from the mass....There was a huge crowd around the church and men and women, kneeling on the wooden sidewalks, were following the service with an attention I certainly did not expect. What a strange people! During mass, the behavior of the faithful was likewise excellent. Yet, try to imagine the differences in the mores of the two nations: almost all the women and a rather large number of men were fanning themselves, under the very nose of the preacher, just as if they were at a ball. The ceremony was very beautiful....

I was glad to notice, that, despite their reputation, Yankees were much more obliging than the British, whom however I am not criticizing. This short excursion in the States, between two trips in Canada, will permit me to establish some interesting comparisons.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SPRINGFIELD DOCTOR

Dr. Preston H. Bailhache was a physician in Springfield, Illinois, from 1857 to 1861 and became acquainted with Abraham Lincoln and prescribed for the Lincoln boys when their uncle, Dr. William S. Wallace, the Lincoln family doctor, was not available. Dr. Bailhache was born on February 22, 1835 in Columbus, Ohio, where his father John Bailhache had been mayor and a member of the Ohio legislature. The elder Bailhache was owner and editor of the *Alton (Illinois) Telegraph* from 1837 to 1854. Dr. Bailhache came to Springfield from medical school and on May 1, 1857 formed a partnership with Dr. Wallace. Their offices were above the Johnson & Bradford bookstore on the southwest corner of the public square. The Lincoln & Herndon law office was one block north. Services of the physicians could be secured through the Corneau & Diller drugstore on the east side of the square.

Dr. Bailhache boarded first at the Chenery House and in 1859 moved to the St. Nicholas Hotel. From April to October of the latter year he was on a search for gold in Colorado. A year later he was boarding with his brother, William H. Bailhache, and on April 17, 1861 he became post surgeon at

Camp Yates when the first troops arrived in Springfield. He was assistant surgeon of the 19th Illinois Infantry from July, 1861 until he resigned to become surgeon of the 14th Illinois Cavalry on February 14, 1863, with which he served until it was mustered out at Nashville on July 31, 1865. From then until his death (at Stapleton, Long Island, on October 28, 1919) he was associated with the U. S. Marine Hospital Service. These recollections are from a typescript found in the papers of Dr. Bailhache by David Wesson of Montclair, New Jersey, a relative by marriage:

In March, 1857, having just graduated from the Pennsylvania Medical College, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, I was anxious to locate in Illinois as I had lived many years in Alton where my father Judge John Bailhache was editor and proprietor of the *Alton Telegraph*, a prominent newspaper published in that city. Remembering that a "physician is not without honor in his own town," or words to that effect, I bade farewell to Alton and proceeded to Springfield, the capital of the State, where I was induced to locate, for the reason that my brother William H. Bailhache [with Edward L. Baker] was editor and proprietor of the *Illinois State Journal*, the most influential paper in central Illinois, and likely to give me an early introduction to the town and county.

By good luck I formed a partnership with Dr. William S. Wallace, brother-in-law of Mr. Lincoln and a very prominent physician of the town.¹ I did not know that my partner was a relative of Mr. Lincoln till some months later, nor was I then acquainted with Mr. Lincoln. We opened an office on the public square May 1, 1857, and practiced together until I entered the Army as assistant surgeon at Camp Yates (Springfield), April 17, 1861.

Springfield in 1857, was more of a village than a city, where everybody knew everybody and there was little dis-

¹ Dr. William Smith Wallace (1802-1867) was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and attended Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. After several years' practice in his home neighborhood he settled in 1836 in Springfield, Illinois. He met Mary Todd's sister Frances and married her in 1839. The Lincolns' third son was named William Wallace for the doctor. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Dr. Wallace a paymaster of volunteers with the rank of major.

tinction among its people regarding their social standing; in other words, a feeling of equality seemed to exist among them, so that Mr. Lincoln's appearance on the streets did not at first seem to differ from that of other men we met. Later on, however, his serious, melancholy face, his absorbed mien and his unconscious bearing led me to see that he *was* different from other people, while his great height (6 feet 4 inches) also impressed me.

Like many western towns, Springfield had its principal business center around the "Public Square"—the State House being in the middle, and on one side of the Square Mr. Lincoln had his modest office located on the second floor over a business house.² It was a small poorly furnished room filled with law books and newspapers, for Mr. Lincoln was early a politician and took great interest in reading the papers of the day, many of which he obtained among the "Exchange list" in the Editorial rooms of the *Illinois State Journal*. Here, too, he met the politicians and discussed with them the questions of local and national interest.

I soon found Mr. Lincoln to be very popular among his neighbors and a great friend of the plain people, especially young men and boys struggling to make good in their several occupations, for he had himself known the rugged path they were traveling. As an example of his well known expression "Give the boys a chance," it is stated that he took up an office boy, taught him what law he knew and finally made him his partner.

My partner, Dr. Wallace, was his family physician, and on several occasions, while he was absent from our office, I had the professional calls to make. At that time it did not seem unusual to me to prescribe for his children more than for attending anybody else who needed a physician, and to call at his office once in six months to collect the fee was merely a matter of routine—but later on I learned to feel very differently. In those days bills of all kinds were rendered once in six months, or in some cases only once in twelve months. Mr. Lincoln was always very solicitous when his boys were sick, and a more devoted father I have

² The office of Lincoln & Herndon in 1857 was at 105 S. Fifth St.

never known. His sympathy was almost motherly, and his patience with the children, whether sick or well, opened my eyes to another phase in his wonderful character.

He was a many-sided man and not devoid of humor, as was illustrated by an incident that caused much merriment among us at the time. His wife was very desirous of having a carriage to take herself and packages home, but was unable to persuade Mr. Lincoln to purchase one. So, one day with a view of shaming him, she mounted the steps of his office and announced that she had a conveyance at the door to take him home. He showed no surprise but quietly started with her down the stairs. At the curb stood an old-fashioned one-horse dray, and Mrs. Lincoln pointing to it said "There is your carriage." Mr. Lincoln smiling in his quaint way, climbed on to the dray and invited his wife to join him; she failed to see the joke, and Mr. Lincoln then told Jake, the driver, to take him home.

Just off the corner of the Public Square the *Illinois State Journal* publishing house was located, and its big solid brick wall afforded a splendid place for playing a game called "Fives." When Mr. Lincoln went to the printing office for a talk or to get a lot of newspapers, he frequently joined with the boys in playing "Fives." This game is a sort of handball, in which players choose sides, and is begun by one of the boys bouncing the ball on the ground, and as it bounds back from the wall one of the opponents strikes it in the same manner, so that the ball is kept going back and forth against the wall until some one misses the rebound, which furnishes a very active and exciting contest. Here is where "Old Abe" was always champion, for his long arms and long legs served a good purpose in reaching and returning the ball from any angle his adversary could send it to the wall.

Although Mr. Lincoln was champion among us young fellows in playing "Fives," he was in no sense a "Sport," and so far as I can remember indulged in no other pastime in Springfield....

He was a student of men and books and obtained as practical an understanding of life from one as much as from the other. His early and lowly surroundings gave him an insight of human nature which stood him in good stead

during his long struggle for information and in fighting his way up the ladder of achievement.

Mr. Lincoln was never a loafer or given to promiscuous storytelling as sometimes represented. His stories were of a kind to illustrate an argument or point a moral, and they were generally apt and sometimes humorous, but they were always clean and never of such a character as the "legends" one reads about him, written by persons who claim to have known him. Often he would discuss topics of the day with friends gathered in the editorial rooms of the *Journal*, and I never heard a word from his lips that might not be repeated in the hearing of the most fastidious.

In 1858, the political debates between Mr. Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, both of whom had been nominated to the United States Senate by their respective parties (Republican and Democratic) regarding the question of slavery in the Territories, brought out tremendous crowds of people to hear their respective champions. I was fortunate enough to hear several of the speeches, and although not a politician, my sympathies were with Mr. Lincoln, not only on principle, but also because he was frank in expressing his views in contrast to the specious argument and sophistries of Mr. Douglas.

The appearances of the two men were so dissimilar as to emphasize the fact that one was short and fat and the other was long and thin. Mr. Douglas gave the impression of a gladiator, while Mr. Lincoln's quiet dignity and cool argument proclaimed him Master of the situation. The contest waxed hot, and Illinois being a strong Democratic state, Mr. Douglas gained his seat in the Senate,³ while those Douglas debates and his subsequent speeches brought Abraham Lincoln to the presidential chair. But this is politics, and only brought in to account for a wonderful uprising of the boys and young men in the North and West, who following the example of a marching club organized in Hartford, Connecticut, in February, 1860, and called the "Wide Awakes," soon spread throughout the country, arousing enthusiasm never to be forgotten by those who participated

³ The two Republican candidates for state office were elected by almost four thousand votes. Because of the antiquated apportionment law the Democrats carried the legislature. It took 1,000 votes in the northern part of the state to offset 750 in the southern part. Douglas received 54 votes to 46 for Lincoln when the legislature met to elect the U. S. Senator.

in or looked on the torchlight processions during the presidential campaign of that year.

The "Wide Awakes" created a furor among old and young that could not be resisted, and what started as a "Marching Club" soon became the largest and most soul-inspiring organization the country had ever seen. Miles of "Wide Awakes" with their lighted torches carried by thousands of uniformed men and boys clad in glazed capes and caps with spread eagle badges made a sight to stir the red blood in every patriotic heart.

There was no building in Springfield large enough to hold the immense crowds that wished to hear the speeches made by the friends of Mr. Lincoln during the campaign, so a large tent was erected with seats and galleries provided. It was named "The Wigwam," and here the most enthusiastic audiences were gathered. The "Wide Awakes" made things lively for the boys, and the Glee Clubs sang patriotic songs, while the drums and fifes added not a little to the general excitement and fun, so that the "Wigwam" came in for one of the most sought after and popular resorts day and night.⁴

Springfield was the Mecca of central Illinois on that night of all nights when lightning flashed over the wires the startling news that *Abraham Lincoln* was elected *president of the United States*.... In the meantime, early in the evening, a large number of ladies and gentlemen gathered at Ben Watson's big Ice Cream Saloon (which had been given over to them) to watch the parade and hear the dispatches read.⁵ While waiting for the news, campaign songs were sung and gaiety was the order of the night. Later on, coffee and oysters were served and we were all having a good time when the dispatches began to come in to liven things up still more. Mr. Lincoln with a few friends was at the telegraph office near by, and towards midnight he and the others joined the gay crowd. At last a dispatch was handed to him at midnight stating that New York City had given him 28,000 majority and the state 30,000.

⁴ The "Wigwam" stood on the southeast corner of Sixth and Monroe streets where the post office is now located. Ninety feet in diameter, with the speaker's platform on the east side, there were galleries on each side of the platform. About 3,000 could be accommodated.

⁵ Watson's Saloon, operated by William W. Watson and his son Benjamin A. Watson, was on the south side of the square.

I dare not even try to describe the scene that followed, where men fell into each other's arms shouting and crying, yelling like mad, jumping up and down, pandemonium in fact—Bedlam let loose might describe it, words fail to do so. But Mr. Lincoln slipped out quietly, looking grave and anxious.

From the time of his election until he started for Washington I saw little of him as I was absent from Springfield, but I was present when he bade farewell to his friends and neighbors collected at the Railroad Station [Great Western] in Springfield, February 11, 1861. It was a very sad parting, and when he said "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return," there were few dry eyes in that sorrowful assemblage.

"LINCOLN TRIES A SUIT WELL"

One of the best descriptions of Abraham Lincoln trying a case is found in a letter of Charles M. Chase,¹ editor of the *DeKalb County Sentinel* of Sycamore, dated June 6, 1859. Chase was serving on the jury in the United States Circuit Court in Chicago. His letter was published in the *Sentinel* of June 25.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE
UNITED STATES COURT ROOM,
CHICAGO, JUNE 6TH, 1859

DEAR READER:—Since last Friday this honorable Court has been engaged in a case, managed, on the part of the plaintiff by Judge Purple, Tom Hoyne and Miller; and on the part of the defendant by Abram Lincoln, Senator Fuller,

¹ Charles Monroe Chase (1829-1902), was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1853. He taught music and studied law in Cincinnati until 1856 when he removed to Sycamore, Illinois. In 1859 he was a Douglas Democrat and editor of the *DeKalb County Sentinel*. He was admitted to the bar in 1857, and practiced in partnership with Jacob A. Simons from 1858 to 1862, during which years he also served as police magistrate and as leader of a brass band at a salary of \$150 per annum. During the Civil War he took a band into the 13th Illinois Infantry on a special contract for three months. During the summer and fall of 1863 he was the Kansas correspondent of the *Sycamore True Republican & Sentinel*, but two years later re-

Merriman & Bryan.² The arguments to the jury are closed. The counsel are now arguing a point of law to the Court. A little incident is taking place which may interest the Sycamore readers. Dr. D____³ from Sycamore, is somewhat enthusiastic in his admiration of Lincoln. A few moments since the Dr. entered the Court Room. By permission of the Court I held a few moments conversation with him and the Dr. expressed to me an intense anxiety to hear the great Republican gun, which wasted so much powder during last fall's campaign, and he said he was determined to remain until he spoke. So saying, the Dr. took a seat and I returned to the jury box.

Judge Purple is speaking. The Dr. sits in mute astonishment, with lips apart, and eyes projecting, and intently fixed upon the countenance of the "Great Defeated." Motionless and still he sits and gazes, unmindful of all save the presence of the great Abram. There he sits, with love and wonder heaving his admiring breast and with a mind pregnant with big thoughts concerning the perilous exploits and magnificent defeat of this great captain of the Republican host.

turned to his birthplace, Lyndon, Vermont, and established the *Vermont Union* which he continued to edit until 1902.

That year he published *The Editor's Run, in Colorado and New Mexico*, based upon a journey to the West made in 1881. Memories of his federal jury service in Chicago in the late 1850's and the lawyers he had observed were recalled as he passed through the city, and form the basis of a chapter in the book. Orville H. Browning of Quincy "was a plain, earnest, solid man, dealing out logic which nothing short of Uncle Abe's good humor, apt stories and mother wit could upset," wrote Chase. "But Lincoln often won a doubtful case with those self-same forces, and surprised men of argument, who never see any sense of force in a joke."

² The case before the Circuit Court appears to have been *Farni v. Tesson*, involving a \$16,000 bond given by Christian and Peter Farni of Woodford County. The case began as *Tesson and Dangen v. Bontcum and Carrey* in the Peoria County Circuit Court on Sept. 12, 1857. It had been in the federal court since December, 1858, and was last heard in December, 1861, in the United States Supreme Court. Lincoln's letter to Samuel W. Fuller about this case is in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), III: 381.

The attorneys were Norman H. Purple, Amos L. Merriman and William F. Bryan of Peoria, and Samuel W. Fuller, Thomas Hoyne and H. G. Miller (Hoyne's partner) of Chicago.

³ Dr. Daniel Dustin (1820-1892), graduate in medicine at Dartmouth College, practiced in Nevada County, California, and served in the state legislature. Moving to Illinois in 1858, he was editor of the *Sycamore Republican Sentinel* (later the *DeKalb County Sentinel*) that year, and engaged in the drug business in Sycamore until he became captain of Company L of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry in 1861. He was promoted to major, and became colonel of the 105th Illinois Infantry and was brevetted brigadier general, serving throughout the war. Elected to county office for sixteen years, General Dustin served as assistant United States treasurer from 1890 until his death.

But the Dr. in his journey from Sycamore, having been tossed to and fro, and up and down, by rail, and having been urged and pulled and scared by eager and tumultuous cab drivers, at the depot, is weary and care-worn. Admiring astonishment gradually yields to necessity. The projecting eyes recede to their wonted sockets; the separated lips are reconciled and, with sweet expression, meet again, closing, once more, that yawning gulf, so dangerous to unsuspecting flies. The astonished muscles relax; the countenances repose; the head nods, and drops upon the chest and "tired nature seeks repose." The Dr. roams in dreamland, and perhaps is at this moment fighting over again, the wonderful battles of the wonderful Abram, with himself as hero.

Now Purple closes and Lincoln begins, and waxes warm in his peculiar way. Dr. is on the opposite side of the room and, by an occasional long-drawn sigh, confirms the apparent fact that he is perfectly insensible to the present scene. Of course, I want to arouse him, that he may hear his great champion of Republicanism. But I am a juror and cannot leave the box—coughing avails nothing, and I have no peas to throw at him. He is out of the reach of everything within my means to arouse him. "He sleeps (it seems as if) his last sleep." No sound can awake him to his senses again"—at least not at present. But Abe will soon close, the Court will adjourn, then the Dr. will wake up, and "gosh dum the luck."

Lincoln tries a suit well. By his genial spirit he keeps the Court, the jury and the opposite counsel in good humor, and sometimes by a comical remark, or a clever joke, upsets the dignity of the court. He never makes a big fight over a small or immaterial point, but frankly admits much, though never enough to damage his case. In this, he differs much from little lawyers, who adhere with unyielding pertinacity to trifles, and make their greatest efforts at nothing. I observe in this court that the greatest lawyers are the most unpretending and unassuming. . . .

Lincoln is not a *great* lawyer but he is a *good* one. Purple, in intricate questions, is too much for him. But when Purple makes a point, which cannot be logically overturned, Lincoln avoids it by a good-natured turn, though outside of the issue. Lincoln's chief characteristics are candor, good

nature and shrewdness. He is the gentleman throughout, I wish I could add—the scholar. He possesses a noble heart, an elevated mind, and the true elements of politeness. If his followers were as honest and as good hearted as he is, there would be a little more show for the Republican party.

On this trip to Chicago Lincoln's eight-year-old son Willie wrote to his friend Henry Remann in Springfield:⁴

CHICAGO ILL JUNE 6. 1859

DEAR HENRY

This town is a very beautiful place. Me and father went to two theatres the other night. Me and father have a nice little room to ourselves. We have two little pitcher on a washstand. The smallest one for me the largest one for father. We have two little towels on a top of both pitchers. The smallest one for me, the largest one for father.

We have two little beds in the room. The smallest one for me, the largest one for father.

We have two little wash basin. The smallest one for me, the largest one for father. The weather is very very fine here in this town. Was [word illegible] exhibition on wednesday before last.

YOUR TRULY
WILLIE LINCOLN.

PETERSBURG'S FIRST DOCTOR

An account book of the first resident physician of Petersburg, Illinois, in which are recorded his medical calls on a number of people associated with Abraham Lincoln, has been

⁴ The original letter is in the University of Chicago Library. The *Press & Tribune* reported that Lincoln had arrived in Chicago on Tuesday, May 31, and was registered at the Tremont House. On June 3 and 4 Chinese jugglers were advertised as giving evening performances at Metropolitan Hall. The "first Fine Art Exhibition of Statuary, Paintings, etc., contributed by the citizens of Chicago" was being held in Burch's building, corner Lake and Wabash. Mr. Lincoln and Willie were back in Springfield on June 9. That evening the Lincolns entertained at a party.

presented to the Illinois State Historical Library. These are the accounts kept by Dr. Richard E. Bennett from 1849 to 1873. The book was given to the Library by Mr. and Mrs. Harold Smoot of Petersburg.

Dr. Bennett came to Petersburg from Virginia in 1837 the year after Lincoln surveyed the town for John Bennett, one of the owners and a brother of the doctor. He practiced there for several years and later at Sand Ridge, seven miles northwest of New Salem. The first section of the book was kept as a ledger and was indexed by the doctor. The descendants of several families who settled in Clary's Grove lived in the Sand Ridge neighborhood and in the doctor's ledger are such family names as Bale, Killian, Close, Short, Nance and Watkins. Another was Bennett Abell in whose home Lincoln courted Mary Owens. Also there is the record of six visits, between January 21 and 25, 1859, to John McNamar, who some years earlier had been engaged to Ann Rutledge. Two of these were noted as "noct vis," or night visits, but the charge of \$2.50 was the same as for a daytime call. Although there seems to have been some urgency about these visits McNamar lived many years more and the bill for \$15 is marked paid "By cash in full."

The grandfather of Edgar Lee Masters, Squire Davis Masters, also lived in the Sand Ridge vicinity and the future poet spent most of his early boyhood in Petersburg. Thus he became familiar with Dr. Bennett's neighbors and two of the fifty-three persons of the Sangamon River area portrayed in his *Spoon River Anthology*—Sevigne Houghton and Fiddler Jones—are listed in the doctor's account book.

PLANK ROAD COMMISSIONER

Abraham Lincoln was one of the five commissioners authorized to receive subscriptions to stock in the Springfield and Richland Plank Road Company on February 11, 1853.

The act incorporating the company listed four others—John T. Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner; William J. Black, attorney; James L. Lamb, foundry owner and pork packer; and John Cook, grandson of Governor Ninian Edwards, and later a Civil War general.

The company was authorized to construct a single or double track plank road ten miles west of Springfield in the direction of Beardstown. Fifty dollar shares of capital stock were not to exceed the total of \$30,000. When two miles were completed toll-gates could be set up and a charge up to three cents a mile collected. Although five years were allowed for construction, it appears no planks were laid.

The same legislature authorized two other companies to construct similar roads from Springfield to Taylorville, and to Havana by way of Athens. Capital to build these plank roads was not forthcoming and the law on the old statute book is all that remains.¹

A GENEROUS LINCOLN COLLECTOR

Foreman M. (Mike) Lebold, life member of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his Chicago apartment at 257 East Delaware Place on November 11, 1953. For the last eight years he was one of the leading collectors of manuscripts and rare books and was thoroughly conversant with his holdings. His interests were primarily in the field of Lincolniana and the Civil War. Scholars were welcome to use Mike's rarities and he generously gave books and documents to various institutions.

The Illinois State Historical Library was enriched by several fine manuscripts. The Spring, 1951 issue of this *Journal* described the gift of twenty-four letters (1781-1782) of Revolutionary War General Nathanael Greene and eight letters of General Ulysses S. Grant. The gift of Edward Everett's

¹ *Private Laws of Illinois*, 1853, p. 181.

letter to General Henry W. Halleck, September 26, 1863, has a special interest to the Library and is displayed with Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and the manuscript of Everett's address delivered at the same ceremony. Everett wrote to Halleck three days after he had agreed to speak at Gettysburg asking for historical data on the great battle of July 1-3, 1863.

Lebold's last gift to the Historical Library was the original of Lincoln's letter to his stepbrother John D. Johnston, with the last paragraph, "A word for Mother." Mr. Lebold purchased the letter for \$3,500 at the sale of the Oliver R. Barrett Lincoln Collection in New York, February 19, 1952. It is the only known letter wherein Lincoln writes to his stepmother, Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln. The advice which forty-two year old Lincoln gave his stepbrother, one year his junior, is as fundamental today as it was a century ago. To remind us of Lincoln's common sense advice, and because it was Mike Lebold's favorite Lincoln letter, we reproduce it in full:

SHELBYVILLE, NOVR. 4. 1851

DEAR BROTHER:

When I came into Charleston day-before yesterday I learned that you are anxious to sell the land where you live, and move to Missouri. I have been thinking of this ever since; and can not but think such a notion is utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri, better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn, & wheat & oats, without work? Will any body there, any more than here, do your work for you? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you can not get along any where. Squirming & crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no crop this year, and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money and spend it—part with the land you have, and my life upon it, you will never after, own a spot big enough to bury you in. Half you will get for the land, you spend in moving to Missouri, and the other half you will eat and drink, and

wear out, & no foot of land will be bought. Now I feel it is my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery. I feel that it is so even on your own account; and particularly on *Mother's* account. The Eastern forty acres I intend to keep for Mother while she lives—if you *will not cultivate it*; it will rent for enough to support her—at least it will rent for something. Her Dower in the other two forties, she can let you have, and no thanks to [me].

Now do not misunderstand this letter. I do not write it in any unkindness. I write it in order, if possible, to get you to *face* the truth—which truth is, you are destitute because you have *idled* away all your time. Your thousand pretences for not getting along better, are all non-sense—they deceive no body but yourself. *Go to work* is the only cure for your case.

A WORD FOR MOTHER:

Chapman [husband of Sarah Lincoln's granddaughter, Harriett Hanks] tells me he wants you to go and live with him. If I were you I would try it awhile. If you get tired of it (as I think you will not) you can return to your own home. Chapman feels very kindly to you; and I have no doubt he will make your situation very pleasant. Sincerely your Son

A. LINCOLN

NEW MARKER IN CHARLESTON

At the time of the fourth Lincoln-Douglas Debate, in Charleston, Illinois, Lincoln stayed at the Capitol House at the northwest corner of the public square. The site is now occupied by the Linder Building, and in December, 1953 the owner Lewis S. Linder marked it with a bronze tablet bearing a bas-relief profile of Lincoln and the following inscription: "Site of/ Capitol House/ Abraham Lincoln's/ Headquarters/ Lincoln-Douglas Debate/ September 18, 1858." Across the street was the Bunnell House where Douglas and his friends stayed. The Charleston National Bank now occupies this corner, and an appropriate bronze marker has been on the building for some years.

ILLINOIS IN 1953

COMPILED BY JAMES N. ADAMS

JANUARY

Jan. 1 The Illinois gasoline tax, which has been four cents per gallon, rises to five cents in accordance with legislation of 1951.

— The files of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield are transferred to the Illinois State Historical Library.

— William D. Querfeld of Clinton, state representative 1941-1942, dies.

Jan. 2 Professor Harley J. Van Cleave, advisor to the Illinois State Museum and former head of the zoology department at the University of Illinois, dies.

Jan. 6 Carl Sandburg is honored by a dinner in Chicago on his seventy-fifth birthday, at which Swedish Ambassador Erik Boheman presents him with the Order of the Northern Star. On the same day his autobiographical *Always the Young Strangers* is published. On January 9 Sandburg is honored at Galesburg, his birthplace, and at a New York dinner on January 13 the Poetry Society of America awards him a gold medal for distinguished achievement.

Jan. 7 The Sixty-eighth General Assembly meets and hears Governor Adlai E. Stevenson's final report. Warren L. Wood of Plainfield is elected speaker of the House.

— Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago and onetime leader of the reform element in the Chicago City Council, dies.

Jan. 8 Bus drivers strike in Aurora, Elgin, and surrounding towns of the Fox River Valley. The strike continues until Jan. 24. From Jan. 19 to 22 the Decatur bus lines, also owned by National City Lines, are tied up by a strike.

Jan. 11 A strike begins at the Baker Manufacturing Company of Springfield, which continues until a settlement is reached on June 2.

Jan. 12 William G. Stratton of Morris is inaugurated as Illinois' thirty-second governor. John W. Chapman of Springfield takes office as lieutenant governor; Charles F. Carpenter of East Moline as secre-

tary of state; Latham Castle of Sandwich as attorney general; Orville E. Hodge of Granite City as auditor of public accounts; and Elmer J. Hoffman of Wheaton as state treasurer. Code department heads named by the governor and confirmed by the Senate are: Agriculture, Stillman Stanard of Carbondale; Conservation, Glen Palmer of Yorkville; Finance, Morton H. Hollingsworth of Joliet; Insurance, Robert E. Barrett of Chicago; Labor, Roy F. Cummins of Chicago; Mines and Minerals, Ben H. Schull of Marion; Public Health, Dr. Roland R. Cross of Dahlgren; Public Safety, Joseph D. Bibb of Chicago; Public Welfare, Dr. Otto L. Bettag of Chicago; Public Works and Buildings, Edwin A. Rosenstone of Cambridge; Registration and Education, Judge Vera M. Binks of Kewanee, the first woman to hold such a position; Revenue, Richard J. Lyons of Libertyville.

— The International Typographical Union goes on strike against the *Waukegan News-Sun*. The paper continues to publish regularly despite the strike.

Jan. 16 Dr. W. A. Baepler is elected president of Concordia Theological Seminary of Springfield.

Jan. 20 Dwight D. Eisenhower succeeds Harry S. Truman as President of the United States. He names Martin P. Durkin of Chicago, president of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters (AFL), as Secretary of Labor. Durkin resigns on Sept. 10.

— Dorothy Lamon Teillard, daughter of Ward Hill Lamon, Lincoln's friend and fellow attorney and marshal of the District of Columbia during the Civil War, dies in Martinsburg, W. Va., at the age of 95.

Jan. 22 The Illinois Supreme Court upholds the 1943 Freeway Act limiting access to superhighways.

Jan. 25 The Chicago and Great Western Railroad is idled by a strike which continues until March 8.

Jan. 26 Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston begins the observance of its centennial year.

Jan. 28 Dr. Harold N. Hillebrand, Shakespearean authority and former head of the University of Illinois English department, dies.

Jan. 29 The Lincoln Home is reopened after repairs. It is now painted "a Quaker tint of light brown" as it was in 1860 when Lincoln was a nominee for the presidency.

Jan. 31 Brookfield is one of ten United States cities cited by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine "for its outstanding citizen action which lifted a heavy debt on the village and put it on sound financial footing."

FEBRUARY

Feb. 2 The first 19-year-old draftees from Illinois since the end of World War II enter service.

— Governor Stratton announces an "open house" in his office every Thursday where citizens may have five-minute interviews.

Feb. 3 Illinois had 201,827 births in 1952, an all-time high, according to Director Cross' report.

Feb. 7 The eight-mile-long \$40,000,000 Chain-of-Rocks Canal, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis, is opened for navigation.

Feb. 9 The United States Supreme Court upholds Chicago's tax on truckers, reversing the Illinois Supreme Court.

Feb. 10 The Thor Corporation celebrates the production of the millionth 105-mm. shell in its Bloomington plant.

Feb. 12 The Abraham Lincoln Association's nine-volume edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* is published by Rutgers University Press.

— Lewis K. Gough, national commander of the American Legion, heads ceremonies at the Lincoln Tomb. The Sangamon County Bar Association repeats its traditional walk from the Sangamon County courthouse (the old state capitol) to the Tomb.

Feb. 14 Robert L. Knetzer of Edwardsville is convicted of fraud in connection with the acceptance of money in the postwar years on his promise of new automobiles which he never delivered. On Aug. 25 he dies suddenly in Colorado.

Feb. 16 James L. Kraft, founder and president emeritus of Kraft Foods, Inc., of Chicago, dies at his winter home in California.

Feb. 18 Marshall Field & Company of Chicago concludes one hundred years of business. The company reports its 1952 income, after taxes and "adjustments," at \$5,617,000.

— Charles A. O'Connor, presiding judge of the Third District Appellate Court, dies at his Aurora home.

Feb. 20 Dr. J. G. Randall of Urbana, professor emeritus of history at the University of Illinois, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association, dies. He was an authority on the life of Abraham Lincoln; *Midstream*, the third volume of his *Lincoln the President*, was published in 1952, and he had completed nearly half of the fourth and last volume.

Feb. 21 Allan Haywood, CIO executive vice-president, dies. He is buried in Taylorville, his birthplace, on Feb. 24.

Feb. 23 Frank S. Dickson of Evanston, congressman from Illinois 1905-1907 and Illinois adjutant general 1910-1922, dies at his home in Washington, D. C.

MARCH

Mar. 5 The 634-foot *Marine Angel*, largest vessel ever to negotiate the Illinois waterway, reaches Lake Michigan.

Mar. 6 Judge William F. Waugh, of the Cook County Probate Court, dies.

Mar. 7 The *Lincoln Courier* and the *Mendota Reporter* represent Illinois in the list of seventy-two awards by the American Heritage Foundation to newspapers for their work in getting out the vote for the 1952 election.

Mar. 9 Phil Brick, proprietor of a Chicago bookstore, is captured by the FBI and admits he is Reinhold Pabel, a Nazi prisoner of war who escaped from a Washington (Ill.) internment camp in 1945. In view of his good record, arrangements are made to legalize his status.

Mar. 11 Herold C. Hunt resigns as general superintendent of the Chicago schools. On June 1 Benjamin C. Willis of Buffalo, New York, is chosen to succeed him.

— The Illinois Terminal Railroad is authorized to abandon its Alton-Grafton line.

— State police seize cigarettes with counterfeit state tax stamps at 21 places in Chicago, in the first of a series of raids.

Mar. 12 The last decontrol measures complete the removal of all consumer goods and many industrial materials from price control.

Mar. 13 Albert M. Crampton of Moline, Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, dies.

— The Army rejects Governor Stratton's request for the reactivation of the 109th Anti-Aircraft Artillery Brigade, formerly commanded by Brigadier General Julius Klein of Chicago and disbanded when most of its members were called into service in Korea.

Mar. 14 The \$4,200,000 Argonne Cancer Research Hospital to study the use of radioactive materials in the treatment of cancer is opened at the University of Chicago.

Mar. 15 A tornado rips through Marion, Jefferson and Washington counties.

Mar. 16 Construction of an underground parking garage in Grant Park, Chicago, is begun.

Mar. 18 A legislative committee starts an investigation of the controversial drug krebiozen. The investigation continues into 1954.

Mar. 19 Greyhound Bus Lines open a \$10,000,000 Chicago terminal.

Mar. 21 La Grange wins the Illinois state high school basketball championship.

Mar. 26 Governor Stratton signs an act authorizing a new \$12,500,000 state office building in Springfield.

Mar. 27 The North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges places Bradley University of Peoria on one year's probation for alleged abuses in its athletic program.

Mar. 30 Governor Stratton submits to the General Assembly the biennial budget, calling for \$1,552,000,000.

APRIL

Apr. 9 Tornadic winds hit Logan and Vermilion counties.

Apr. 12 A marker honoring Governor Edward Coles is dedicated on the site of the old courthouse in Edwardsville where Coles was arraigned for liberating his slaves.

Apr. 14 David L. Behncke of Chicago, founder of the Air Lines Pilots' Association (AFL) in 1932 and its president until 1951, dies.

Apr. 15 A weekly series of broadcasts of General Assembly proceedings—the first broadcast ever made from the legislature except for special functions such as inaugurations—is begun by Springfield radio station WTAX.

Apr. 16 A fire at the Haber Screw Manufacturing Company of Chicago kills twenty-eight and injures thirty-seven.

— Thomas A. Bolger of McHenry, state representative 1932-1952, dies.

Apr. 18 Basil L. Walters, executive editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, is elected president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Apr. 23 Alan Best of Chicago, serving his fourth term in the Illinois House, dies.

Apr. 26 Ulysses S. Grant III is guest of honor at a Galena open house at the replica of the Grant-Perkins Leather Goods Store.

Apr. 28 John B. Stoddart, Jr., of Springfield, is confirmed as U.S. district attorney for southern Illinois.

Apr. 30 Frank Raboski, crime fighter in Northlake, is discovered to be Cornelius Pytsch, a fugitive from justice in New York and California. Governor Stratton refuses extradition demands because of Pytsch's good record in Illinois.

MAY

May 2 The first Baha'i Temple in the Western hemisphere, located at Wilmette, thirty-three years in building, is formally dedicated.

May 3 The Springfield Catholic diocese begins its centennial observance. Ceremonies are also held at Quincy and Alton, former seats of the diocese.

May 8 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day spring tour. From headquarters in Harrisburg and Eldorado, a tour is made through Saline, Gallatin, Pope and Hardin counties.

May 9 The Parmelee Transportation Company of Chicago completes 100 years of operation. During 1952 it carried 1,600,000 passengers and their baggage between the various railroad stations of Chicago.

May 10 Frank H. Just, editor and publisher of the *Waukegan News-Sun* and owner of radio station WKRS, dies.

May 11 A strike is staged by 350 University of Chicago students in protest against the abandonment of the undergraduate college plan, instituted by former Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, by which a college degree could be obtained after six years of work in high school and college.

— Frances Shimer College at Mt. Carroll celebrates its centennial.

May 13 Ten University of Illinois students are suspended and three fined for "panty raids" on women's dormitories and sororities. Similar outbursts are taking place in other colleges over the country.

May 14 The parole application of Nathan F. Leopold, Jr., "thrill slayer" in 1924 of Bobby Franks in Chicago, is denied.

May 21 Win G. Knoch of Naperville and Julius J. Hoffman of Chicago are sworn in to fill the long-vacant places on the Federal District Court for northern Illinois.

— Governor Stratton names a 21-man board to work toward the eradication of tuberculosis in Illinois.

May 23 The *Chicago Daily News* wins the National Headliners' Club public service award for 1952 for its exposé of corruption in the Safety Court.

— Governor Stratton presents awards to thirty-eight Junior Historians for outstanding contributions published in the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

— William G. Thon of Oak Park, state representative since 1914, dies.

May 30 The University of Illinois wins the "Big Ten" track championship.

— DuQuoin begins a five-week centennial celebration.

JUNE

June 2 Airman First Class Henry C. Lanan of Kingston, DeKalb County, stationed in England, is Illinois' official representative at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

— Albert A. ("Boots") Brands, Prairie du Rocher publisher, and state representative for sixteen years, dies.

June 3 Dr. Martin L. Reymert of Batavia, director of research for the Loyal Order of Moose, dies.

June 8 The Lincoln Diploma of Honor of Lincoln Memorial University is awarded to Mrs. Marion D. Pratt of Springfield for her work on *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, published Feb. 12.

— Rochelle begins a seven-day centennial celebration.

June 11 State Representative Clem Graver is kidnaped as he leaves his car to enter his Chicago home. Nothing more is heard of him.

— Illinois' shortest railroad—the twelve-mile Hooppole, Yorktown & Tampico—is authorized to suspend operations.

June 12 Atlanta begins a two-day centennial celebration.

June 13 A tornado hits Saline County.

June 15 Edward E. Denison of Marion, congressman 1914-1930, dies.

June 20 The Harlan Hoyt Horner Lincoln Collection at the University of Illinois is dedicated.

— Norman Ross, former world's champion swimmer and announcer for Chicago radio station WMAQ, dies.

June 21 Kankakee begins a seven-day centennial celebration.

June 24 A proposed constitutional amendment revising the Illinois judicial system is killed in the House.

June 25 The Senate kills a bill to prohibit television stations at tax-supported state educational institutions.

— Frederic Clay Bartlett, noted Chicago artist and art collector, dies.

— Gillespie begins a three-day centennial celebration.

June 26 A statue of the late Richard J. Barr of Joliet, state senator for forty-eight years, is dedicated in the State Capitol.

June 27 For the first time since 1929 the General Assembly adjourns in advance of the constitutional limit of June 30. Some of the more important acts passed provide a new and stricter driver's license law; permit cities to levy cigarette taxes; require higher pay for city police and firemen; reduce truck license fees; require a sixty-

day "cooling-off" period between the notice of intention to file a divorce suit and the actual filing; create a Youth Commission to study juvenile delinquency; initiate a ten-cent admission charge at seven state parks; and modernize for the first time Lincoln's statute on estrays (passed in 1835). Another bill provides that, subject to popular referendum at the 1954 general election, the state's legislative districts shall be reapportioned for the first time since 1901, giving Cook County a majority in the House.

JULY

July 1 Governor Stratton vetoes the Broyles anti-subversive-activities bills, which, among other provisions, would have required loyalty oaths from all state, county and local government employees.

— Seventeen Illinois communities are now adding sodium fluoride to their water supplies in an endeavor to decrease tooth decay.

July 2 Walter W. Williams of Benton, state representative 1904-1906 and University of Illinois trustee, dies.

— Lee Daniels of Aurora is appointed chairman of the new Youth Commission.

July 3 The state buys a fifty-acre addition to New Salem State Park from the Bale family.

— Scales Mound, Jo Daviess County, begins a two-day centennial celebration.

July 7 James B. Bowler of Chicago is elected to Congress to succeed Adolph J. Sabath, who died Nov. 5, 1952.

— Illinois Route 83—part of the Tri-State Highway—is renamed the Robert Kingery Highway in honor of the former director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings.

July 9 Governor Stratton approves an appropriation for the reconstruction of the Postville courthouse in Lincoln.

July 10 Clarence P. Wagner, Chicago alderman sometimes called the city's "second mayor," is killed in an automobile accident.

July 12 Ottawa begins an eight-day centennial celebration, featured by a re-enactment of the Lincoln-Douglas debate by Senators Douglas of Illinois and Malone of Nevada.

July 13 Mass injections of gamma globulin are used in fighting a Macon County polio epidemic.

July 15 Kansas begins a five-day centennial celebration.

July 16 Downstate Illinoisans oppose any increase in Chicago water diversion at hearings in Washington.

July 20 Ray I. Klingbiel of East Moline is elected to the Illinois Supreme Court to fill the vacancy created by the death of Chief Justice Crampton.

July 22 The first of ten performances of the play "Lincoln at New Salem" is presented in Kelso Hollow Theater in New Salem State Park. This play replaces "Forever This Land!" which was presented there in 1951 and 1952.

July 23 Frank N. Barker resigns as chief highway engineer after thirty years with the Illinois Division of Highways.

— Williamsville opens a three-day centennial celebration.

July 25 Dr. George D. Stoddard resigns as president of the University of Illinois after a vote of no confidence by the University trustees. Comptroller Lloyd Morey is appointed acting president.

— Wenona begins an eight-day centennial celebration.

July 29 Daniel W. Creeden, president of Libby, McNeill & Libby since 1940, dies in Chicago. Charles S. Bridges is named his successor.

July 31 Thirty Australian farmers visit farms in seven northeastern Illinois counties to gain ideas for improving their agriculture. In August a busload of Canadian farmers visits Kane County, Bloomington hybrid corn plants, and the University of Illinois College of Agriculture.

AUGUST

Aug. 5 Litchfield begins a four-day centennial celebration.

Aug. 9 Mendota begins a seven-day centennial celebration.

Aug. 14 The 101st Illinois State Fair begins its ten-day session. The sale of beer is banned on the grounds by executive order of Governor Stratton. Each night of the Fair, Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* is presented at New Salem State Park.

Aug. 20 Former Governor Adlai E. Stevenson returns to Illinois after a world tour which began March 2.

Aug. 23 John P. McGoorty, state representative 1896-1906 and subsequently a Chicago judge for 33 years, dies.

Aug. 24 Charles W. Hoefer, retired editor and publisher of the *Aurora Beacon-News*, dies.

— Centralia begins a six-day centennial celebration.

Aug. 26 "Big Sam," supposedly the largest horse in the world (3,120 pounds), dies at the University of Illinois.

Aug. 28 The State Geological Survey estimates Illinois' underground coal reserves at 137 billion tons.

Aug. 29 Lincoln begins an eight-day centennial celebration.

Aug. 31 Casey begins a six-day centennial celebration.

SEPTEMBER

Sept. 3 Major General William F. Dean of Carlyle is released in the prisoner exchange at Panmunjom, Korea. He is given a hero's welcome at Carlyle on Nov. 11. One of twenty-one Americans refusing repatriation is Arlie H. Pate of Carbondale.

— Arne Gunderson Rae, professor of journalism at the University of Illinois, dies. He was at one time secretary of the National Editorial Association, Chicago.

Sept. 4 Annawan begins a two-day centennial celebration.

Sept. 5 Havana begins a three-day centennial celebration.

Sept. 10 The American Association for State and Local History makes awards to John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and to the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, for their contributions to historical study.

Sept. 11 An earthquake causes minor damage in the Edwardsville-Belleville area.

— Tonica celebrates its centennial.

Sept. 18 Governor Stratton dedicates the Prophet's Town Indian Village State Park at Prophetstown.

Sept. 19 President Eisenhower makes a brief speech to the national convention of Republican women at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago.

Sept. 21 The first mock air raid in the Midwest is staged over Aurora.

Sept. 23 Crown Prince Akihito of Japan arrives in Chicago for a two-day visit.

Sept. 24 Riley Simmons, last of the once notorious Birger gangsters of Williamson County, is paroled. Art Newman, another of the gang, was paroled June 26.

— Assumption begins a three-day centennial celebration.

Sept. 25 Morris begins a three-day centennial celebration.

— Orion begins a two-day centennial celebration.

Sept. 27 J. Ward Smith of Ottawa, state representative since 1939, dies.

— Robin Roberts of Springfield, pitching for the Philadelphia Phillies, finishes the National League baseball season with 23 victories—more than any other pitcher.

Sept. 29 Malcolm R. Giles of Aurora, director general of the Loyal Order of Moose, dies.

OCTOBER

Oct. 1 Evan Howell, former congressman, who resigned his federal judgeship Sept. 30, is appointed chairman of the new Illinois Toll Road Commission by Governor Stratton. The other appointees are Chauncey McCormick and Orville Taylor, both of Chicago.

Oct. 2 A late-season heat wave ends. Chicago has had forty-two days of 90-degree or higher temperature this year, a new record. The heat has set many other records. The accompanying drought has caused water shortages in many Illinois communities.

— The Illinois State Historical Library acquires its one-thousandth document in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln.

— The new four-lane highway between Springfield and Lincoln is opened by Governor Stratton.

Oct. 8 Dr. Harrison A. Ruehe, head of the dairy husbandry department at the University of Illinois since 1933 and on its faculty since 1914, dies. He was a former president of the American Dairy Science Association.

— Harrisburg opens a three-day centennial celebration, also commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the building of its high school.

Oct. 9 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day annual meeting at Mattoon. Featured speakers are MacKinlay Kantor and William J. Petersen. A tour of Coles County Lincoln sites is conducted by Professors Charles H. Coleman and Glenn H. Seymour of Eastern Illinois State College.

Oct. 15 The Chicago Symphony Orchestra begins its new season with Fritz Reiner replacing Rafael Kubelik as conductor.

Oct. 19 Rev. Harold W. Hartman of Chatham, chief of chaplains in the Southwest Pacific during World War II, dies.

Oct. 21 Suffragan Bishop Gerald F. Burrill of Dallas is appointed Episcopal bishop of Chicago, succeeding the Right Rev. Wallace E. Conkling, who announced his resignation on July 2.

Oct. 28 The *Carthage Republican* ceases publication after a hundred years. Its circulation is taken over by Carthage's only surviving paper, the *Hancock County Journal*.

Oct. 29 The oil tanker *Blue Comet*, loaded with 580,000 gallons of gasoline, explodes and burns in Lake Michigan off 92d Street, Chicago. One sailor is killed; the other eleven members of the crew escape.

NOVEMBER

Nov. 3 The Republicans win eight out of fourteen contests in the Cook County judicial election, including the election of Miss B. Fain Tucker as Chicago's first woman judge since Mary Bartelme.

Nov. 4 Archie N. Vance, formerly of Paris, state representative 1918-1920, dies in Los Angeles.

Nov. 6 King Paul and Queen Frederika of Greece begin a three-day visit to Chicago. King Paul visits the farm of J. George Smith, near Oswego.

— Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., speaking to the Executives Club in Chicago, assails Ex-President Truman for his conduct in the Harry Dexter White case.

Nov. 9 Mrs. Louise DeKoven Bowen, Chicago philanthropist, cofounder of Hull House and its president after Jane Addams' death, dies at the age of 94. She was chairman of the Women's Division of the Illinois State Council for Defense during World War I.

Nov. 10 Francis W. Greenaway, editor of the *DeKalb Chronicle* since 1909, dies.

Nov. 11 Foreman M. Lebold, Chicago Lincoln collector and president of the Morris Paper Company, dies.

Nov. 12 The United States government abandons plans for a \$26,000,000 atomic energy plant on the site of Camp Ellis in Fulton County.

Nov. 19 William G. Knox of Chicago, state senator since 1940, dies.

Nov. 21 The University of Illinois finishes its football season by defeating Northwestern 39-14, tying Michigan State College for the conference championship. Halfback J. C. Caroline, from South Carolina, leads all college players in the country in yards gained by rushing, setting a new conference record.

DECEMBER

Dec. 1 James E. Tays resigns as general manager of the Illinois State Fair.

— The new 1954 automobile license plates, bearing for the first time the inscription "Land of Lincoln," go on sale.

Dec. 4 Pamela Martin, Chicago advertising copywriter and model, leaves Midway Airport to set a new round-the-world speed record for flying on commercial planes. She returns on the morning of Dec. 8 with a new record of 90 hours, 59 minutes.

Dec. 11 William K. Selden, former recorder and assistant dean at Northwestern University, is installed as the ninth president of 125-year-old Illinois College at Jacksonville.

— Water shortages at Pittsfield and Carthage force those cities to haul water from the Mississippi River.

Dec. 15 Edward G. Barrow, manager of the New York Yankees for twenty-six years, dies. He was born near Springfield.

Dec. 18 Charles J. Scofield, Hancock County historian and former circuit and appellate judge, dies at Carthage a week before his 100th birthday.

— Dr. Frederick Tice, former professor of medicine at the University of Illinois, dies in Chicago. He was an internationally known authority on the heart and chest, and pioneered the development of mobile chest X-ray units.

— Harriet Vittum, founder of Northwestern Settlement House in Chicago in 1906 and its head until her retirement in 1947, dies.

Dec. 25 Carter Henry Harrison dies in Chicago at the age of 93. He and his father, the elder Carter H. Harrison, each served five terms as mayor of Chicago.

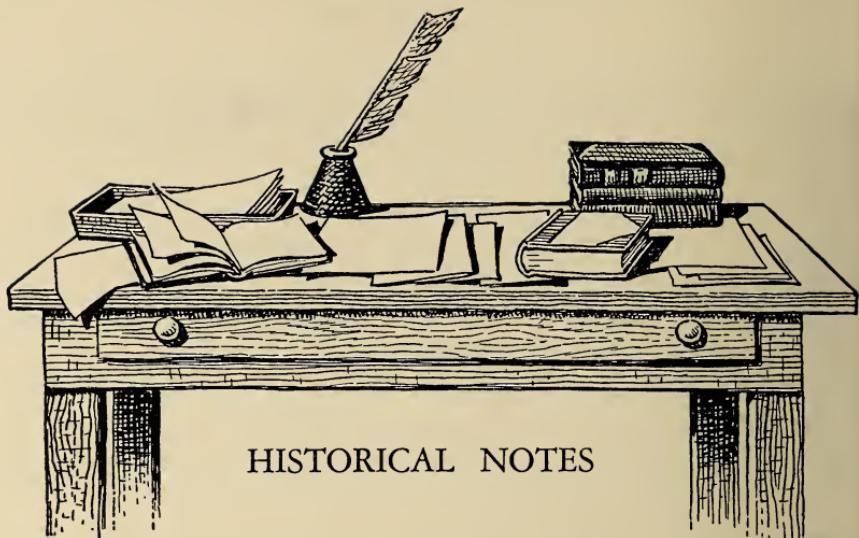
Dec. 26 College editors from the University of Chicago, Northwestern University and Knox College are included in a group of seven leaving for a three-week visit to Russia.

Dec. 28 The American Historical Association begins a three-day meeting in Chicago. The presidential address is given by Dr. Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, biographer of Lafayette.

Dec. 29 The Army approves the merger of the two Illinois divisions of the National Guard—the 33d and 44th—requested by Governor Stratton.

Dec. 31 Under the 1953 driver's license act the licenses of 1,799 drivers have been revoked by Secretary of State Carpentier since July 1.

— The state has spent \$83,470,000 on highway construction during 1953.



HISTORICAL NOTES

THE PRAIRIE CHICKEN: A RARITY

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently received a complete file of *The Prairie Chicken*, a four-page quasi-literary paper published monthly at Tilton, Illinois, October 1, 1864 through September 1, 1865. The paper was a gift of the Onondaga Historical Association of Syracuse, New York.¹

The purpose of *The Prairie Chicken* was to raise funds for the United States Sanitary Commission, the Red Cross of the Civil War, "and that our new community should be represented in the periodical literature of the nation." Although the name of the chief editor is not mentioned it was probably Joseph Kirkland who was later the author of three novels² and literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. Kirkland was then station agent for the Great Western Railroad at Tilton, on the southwest edge of Danville, and was operating the Carbon Coal Mines which had belonged to his father.

Surviving copies of *The Prairie Chicken* are rare, but three complete files are known. Thomas O. Mabbott and Philip D. Jordan located one of them in the New York Public Library and described it in the October, 1932 issue of this *Journal*. Since then other copies have been reported, including another complete file in the Chicago Public Library, seven numbers at the

¹ Joseph Kirkland, to whom *The Prairie Chicken* is attributed, was born in Geneva, New York, in 1830. In 1863 he married Theodosia Burr Wilkinson of Syracuse—the file of *The Prairie Chicken* was received from her home town.

² *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County* (1887), *The McVeys: An Episode* (1889), and *The Captain of Company K* (1891). These books are discussed in Clyde E. Henson, "Joseph Kirkland's Novels," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XLIV, no. 2 (Summer, 1951), 142-46.



JOSEPH KIRKLAND, from his novel *The Captain of Company K.*

University of Illinois Library, and five at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

An examination shows that the first number of the Chicago and New York files differs from the copy in the Historical Library and is evidently a reprint. The top of the first page of the first issue in the New York and

Chicago files has the words "(AND ONLY)" immediately after "Vol. I." These words were not used in the regular edition until the fourth issue. Also, the word "has" was changed to "hath" in one instance in the text of this page, some words have been divided differently at the ends of lines, and the spacing between the words differs, which happens with handset type. The March issue stated that every subscriber would "receive the whole twelve" numbers. The subscription list was closed as of May 1, "the whole brood" of 500 copies being "bespoken" by June.

Mabbott and Jordan reprinted an article about Abraham Lincoln, presumably written by Kirkland, which appeared in the July number of *The Prairie Chicken*, and is one of the most revealing. In the August issue, under the heading "Editorial Trials," the "editors" bemoaned several typographical errors of the preceding number. The Kirkland story as printed stated that when the committee from the Chicago Convention of 1860 went to Springfield to notify Lincoln of his nomination his "two little sons (carefully imbued by parental hands with the whitest of pantaloons)" appeared. Kirkland exclaimed, "See what they've made me say. . . . That Mr. Lincoln's little boys were *imbued* with the whitest of pantaloons! Who ever heard of any body's being *imbued* with pantaloons!"

The name of *The Prairie Chicken* was chosen because "It is rich, spicy, popular, cheap and wholesome!" and "they are sold at a dollar a dozen, just as our Monthly will be!" Each issue consisted of four pages, nine by twelve inches in size. The first nine issues had three columns to a page; in the last three there were four, accomplished by narrower columns and reduced margins. The change was explained in the August issue: "The *Chicken*, which follows the fortunes of the *Champaign County Union*, has found it also expedient to follow the example of its flourishing neighbor, and come out in a new dress." The *Chicken* was printed by D. S. Crandall in the *Union* offices in Champaign for \$192—less than the commercial rates—as his contribution, "leaving \$300 to be transmitted to the Sanitary Commission." The December number gratefully acknowledged the donation of two reams of paper by J. George Day of Chicago.

A poem appeared on page one, column one, of each issue, the only uniformity in the make-up. The contents included more poems, essays, editorials, recipes (one was for a "Lincoln Pudding"), humor, soldiers' letters, dramatic scenes, travel, "foreign correspondence" and local news items. "At the request of some Tilton friends" a list of sixty-three contributors of the Tilton Sunday School to the Lincoln Monument Association was printed in the July issue. Usually there would be approximately half a column of advertisements, with Kirkland and S. Stansbury as the principal adver-

tisers. Nine issues carried the advertisement of the Eagleswood Military Academy of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. One series of essays was entitled "Moral Perspective" and another "Coal." The articles on "Corn" and "Our Christmas Tree" are outstanding contributions. The "foreign correspondence" consisted of interesting letters from London and Frankfort.

Printer Crandall sent a letter accompanying the first issue advising "briefer articles." The following month he wrote to the editors:

Keep on sending documents much longer, and I shall have to take off the roof of the office. I come home from the post-office with my pockets bulged out like the cheeks of a prize pig; I measure out copy now in a bushel basket, and if I got in one half of what I have on hand, I should be obliged to issue three supplements, an appendix, index and glossary. Do, please, "chuck a handspike" into the running-gear of your editorial corps. . . . As for arranging all this matter in a manner satisfactory to myself or you—it can't be did. There is too little room in the four pages . . . to have appropriate headings. . . . To do this, you must properly "cut your cloth," whereas, if you throw things at a fellow by the pillow-caseful, you must just naturally take the chances, as one of my cardinal doctrines reads, "All baggage at the risk of the owner. . . ."

To which the editors replied:

Of course we promised amendment, but the nine have an affluence of loquacity that is difficult to restrain, and it is just possible that our engineer may have to whistle "down brakes" again before he has done with us, to avoid the risk of a break-down from too vehement propulsion.

"The Comical Editor, whose duty it is to be a perpetual fountain of drollery," was one of the busiest members of *The Prairie Chicken* "staff." He supplied the fillers that made the columns come out even and frequently he would be allowed a column or two in one issue—as when one of his correspondents, signing herself "Chenille" (June 1), wrote "On the Domestic Language of Young America," beginning:

I am a youthful person of the feminine persuasion, and wish through your columns to offer a protest against the daily murdering of the King's English perpetrated by my college-bred brother, who ought to be my exemplar instead of serving as a dreadful warning. Why, in the name of common sense, should every thing that is good or agreeable become in his mouth "bully," "ripping" or "busting"? What is the propriety of calling a pretty girl "a stunner" and "peaches"? and is there no better name for a young man than a "cove"?—(which means, according to Worcester, a small creek or bay). . . . There is nothing "festive" that I can perceive about hasty pudding and milk, and it does so distress me to hear our nice dinners spoken of as "prog."

The "Comical Editor" in a series of "recipes" in the June issue wrote:

To Preserve Fruit—Build a good picket fence around the orchard. If you do not picket, your neighbors will.

To Remove Obstinacy in a Healthy Boy—Be patient, persevere, and especially stick to it—and let the stick be a stout one.

Two "Specimens of American Domestic Discipline" in the March issue were:

Billy Bolenn jumped out of his bed
He rushed at his sister and cut off her head;
This gave his dear mother a great deal of pain—
Let us hope little Billy won't do so again!

"Where is your sister, Margaret, tell?"
"Mother, I pushed her into the well."
"Very cross in you, Margaret, really;
I thought you loved your sister dearly!"

REMINISCENCES OF A CENTENARIAN

Charles Josiah Scofield, able member of the Illinois bar for seventy-eight years, died on December 18, 1953, one week before his one-hundredth birthday. He was born in Carthage, Illinois, the son of Charles Rollin and Elizabeth Crawford Scofield. He had lived in the same house since 1871, when, after graduating from college, he returned to Carthage to teach in the high school.

Scofield was admitted to the bar in June, 1875. He was appointed master in chancery the following October, serving until his election as a judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit in June, 1885. At the age of thirty-one he was the youngest circuit judge in the state. His analytical, logical and deductive mind, plus close application and unfaltering industry, assured his re-election at the end of six years. The last four of his twelve years on the bench he served by appointment of the Supreme Court as one of the Appellate Court judges of the fourth district, sitting at Mt. Vernon. Upon retirement from the bench in 1897 he again took up the practice of law in Carthage in partnership with A. W. O'Hara, and continued in this and other partnerships until his death. His last partners were Earl N. Bell and his son Charles T. Bell.

In 1880 Scofield was ordained a minister in the Christian Church in Carthage, and for twenty years filled the pulpit without compensation, the congregation increasing from fifty to three hundred. A few days before his death members of his church brought him \$100, a dollar for each year of his life.

Judge Scofield received honorary degrees from his alma mater and from

Eureka College. He was tendered the presidency of Drake University and the deanship of the law school at Leland Stanford University, and was nominated for the Illinois Supreme Court, but refused each offer.

He was the author of *Altar Stairs* (1903) and *A Subtle Adversary* (1891), a successful novel portraying the evils arising directly and indirectly from the liquor traffic. His *History of Hancock County* (1921) is one of a small group of outstanding county histories of Illinois.

On September 12, 1876, Scofield married Rose Spitzer, who died in 1932. No children were born of this marriage.

In the last weeks of his life Judge Scofield consented to write a few pages about his career for Robert L. Nicholas of the *Chicago Tribune*, who planned to use it on Christmas Day, 1953, Scofield's one-hundredth birthday. From the seven legal-length typewritten sheets the following has been excerpted:

At half past one on the afternoon of December 25, 1853, I was introduced to my parents by the announcement, "It's a boy." On June 4, 1875, I was introduced to the people by the Supreme Court thus: "It's a lawyer." . . .

My father, a lawyer, had died when I was three years old, and my mother and her two little children had found a comfortable home with my mother's parents on the farm one mile south of Carthage, where I had become familiar with farming as then conducted. But my education was not neglected. There was no Carthage College then, and I was sent for three years to Christian University, now called Culver-Stockton College, at Canton, Missouri, where I graduated with the degree A.B. in 1871. After that I was teacher in the Carthage High School for three years.

I had considered during all that time what should be my profession, whether the law, the ministry, the teacher's desk or the editorial chair, and my environment impelled me toward the law. This was not from disfavor of the other callings, for I really favored each of them, but because my father and two of his brothers were lawyers, and my mother and grandparents thought that preferable and as opening to an easier life. . . .

Not many young men went to law school in the year 1875, and I was one who could not well afford to go. There was a one-room law-office in Carthage, in which three able lawyers, not partners, transacted business. One of them was my uncle, Bryant T. Scofield, and the others were Judge George Edmunds and Master in Chancery William C. Hooker. I was readily admitted into this fellowship, and read law there while teaching, during vacations, and as opportunity afforded, until the two years required had been completed, and I felt that I was qualified for the examination.

My preceptors were very kind, they refrained from annoying me with perplexing questions, and the only compensation exacted was sweeping the office floor and keeping up the fire. However, I heard these able lawyers

and Wesley H. Manier, who called from time to time, discuss the decisions of the Supreme Court, whereby I acquired much useful information. If I were asked whether I would pursue another course, if time should be turned back, than that I did pursue, I would answer, no. . . . As a trial lawyer, my uncle had no superior, and as to pleading and practice and evidence, Edmunds and Hooker were the equals of any. . . .

And so, after having made ready, I equipped myself with good clothes, including a high hat, and found, when I reached Mt. Vernon that six of the Justices wore slouch hats and were dressed in business clothes.

I procured a certificate of good moral character from a court, and certificate that I had read law for two years, to which I added my own affidavit, and thus fortified appeared before the Supreme Court at Mt. Vernon on June 4, 1875, for examination.

In 1875 the state was divided into three divisions for Supreme Court purposes, the Northern, the Central and the Southern. The student could apply in either division for examination.

The Court consisted of seven Judges, and those on the bench then were McAllister, Sheldon, Craig, Walker, Scott of Bloomington, Breese and John Scholfield. . . .

The Clerk seated us in common chairs in rows in front of the Bench, and called us to our feet by rapping on a table, whereupon the seven Judges entered from the conference room and stood at their respective chairs, with Judge Scott at the center, who was then Chief Justice.

The sheriff made proclamation in an old English form and declared the Court in session. The Judges sat down.

The Judges wore no judicial robes. They were attentive. They turned the matter of questioning over to the three lawyers they had appointed, and they took their places in front of the students and with their backs to the Bench. They were Green of Southern Illinois, James K. Edsall, Attorney General, and Emory A. Storrs, brilliant trial lawyer of Chicago.

Green was really the master of the ceremonies. He knew Blackstone from start to finish. Perhaps could repeat much of it backward. He consumed two-thirds of the time. He called the boy's number, the boy arose, answered the question propounded, and sat down.

I remember his first question very well indeed. It was:

"How many books are there in Blackstone?" There followed, "What is law?" "What is municipal law?" Question after question, all to be answered from Blackstone.

Edsall followed, and then Storrs.

At the conclusion of the examination Judge Breese propounded one question, a mixed question of law and fact, undoubtedly mixed, for the Judges smiled, as if no answer was expected, certainly, none was intended. The fact is, it involved a proposition with which the Judges themselves were wrestling.

Here, the Court suspended, and the judges gave their attention to the court docket. The clerk beckoned us to his room to take the oath and pay his fee. A few days thereafter I received my license signed with pen, and by the seven Judges, and during the summer was made to realize that a license did not necessarily bring clients, that is, not at first, but eventually it does. . . .

I refer to a few incidents which occurred while I was Judge which belong to the comedy side.

An attorney called a young girl as a witness and told her to take the stand. She was confused and the word "stand" misled her, and she stepped upon the witness chair and stood upright, until admonished to be seated.

Another was when the daughter of a litigant had testified for her father and the opposing lawyer had criticized her testimony, whereupon as soon as court adjourned, she administered a resounding whack on the lawyer's cheek. The lawyer interceded in her behalf and she was admonished and permitted to go. The truth is that the Judge was considering how he might protect the dignity of the court without punishing the offender, for he felt in his inmost soul, that the lawyer deserved what he had received, when the magnanimity of the smitten lawyer afforded the opportunity.

At another time when I was holding court at Macomb and the trial of an important case was before court and jury, some young men in the rear were disturbing listeners by laughing and whispering and having a good time generally. I requested the sheriff to bring the young men forward. That was one time when I did not deliver a lecture on court etiquette, but I, in all kindness, told the boys that they would learn something by listening to the trial, and bade them to be seated on the platform in front of the judicial bench, and suggested that they would have reserved seats there during the afternoon if they should see fit to return. Strange to say, they did not return. . . .

I have practiced law for a long time. I have tried cases in many states, and before many judges, and yet I have never had reason to think that any judge intentionally perverted justice or rendered an unjust decision. Judges and lawyers make mistakes, and so do the people at elections. . . .

The law has been called a jealous mistress; and so it is, for it requires work, hard work, more work, in order to keep pace with the legislative folios, where the wisdom of a century may be lost in the stroke of a reformer's pen. . . .

My excursions into the ministry and literature, an enjoyable part of my life work, are not here considered.

HE HAD HIS "DISH RIGHT SIDE UP"

Erastus Wright walked into Springfield, Illinois, on November 21, 1821, which was before the town had been laid out, and during his career he was a schoolteacher, merchant, farmer, assessor, tax collector and land speculator.

He also spent several years in the lead mining region of northern Illinois and Wisconsin. This versatility was due no doubt to his wish to keep "his dish right side up"—which seems to have been a favorite expression. He claimed to have built the "first frame house in what is now the city of Springfield," and he used an elk to ride and drive in harness on his trips about the countryside.

Wright was born in Bernardstown, Massachusetts, on January 21, 1779, and died in Springfield, November 21, 1870—forty-nine years to the day after his arrival. These two interesting letters about pioneer Springfield were addressed to his older brother, Dr. Samuel Wright, Holderness, Grafton County, New Hampshire. The originals are owned by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD ILLS. Nov. 26th. 1826

MOST FAITHFUL BROTHER

Yours of the 15th. Oct. came to hand by last mail and was often read with peculiar pleasure I was the more gratified to hear likewise from our Dear Parents who had recently honoured you with a welcome visit. . . . Now with regard to affairs in this vicinity. . . . On Monday last I witnessed one man's neck stretched between the heavens and the Earth for the unholy crime of murdering his bosom companion being myself one in twelve who had the whole case before us our verdict was "murder in the firs[t] degree" Altho the case was clear it was a very serious important and unpleasant duty to perform. The Physicians tried to reanimate by Electrical application but failed they are now dissecting him a few doors from mine. Physicians are all getting rich and the Lawyers fleece the People or at least the ignorant who compose 6/8 of the whole It was generally supposed that between 3 & 4 thousand assembled at this place to witness the execution. This country has received a greater emigration (mostly from Kentucky) than in any year since I have lived in it. The good Land will in a few years be mostly taken up but what should I care when I have all I want, say about 350 Acres. Yesterday I sold ten acres for 50 Dollars to assist in my building, I had not told you I have a house 18 by 26 and two rooms, lathed and plastered, a good brick chimney and an addition of 17, feet that will be plastered and finished next week making 43 feet in length one story high. But I regret that it is situated in a block with others standing within three feet both sides so that if one burns 8 or 10 must go together. "nothing venture nothing have" "neck or nothing" My farm is cultivated by a good tenant and I receive one third and no expense to me my orchard grows finely I intend to enlarge it in the spring. I was the crier of the sales of Public Land at this office in Sept. last, I often went through my task pr day in 30 or 40 minutes the sales contined two weeks for which I received 36\$. i.e. 3\$ pr. day and one day I made 7.\$ a part was for other business such

as drawing deeds maps &c, but those harvest days are past for the present. 2 weeks ago I went to St Louis, Mo. one hundred miles and returned in 2 days to forward my building for I find when I have 6 or 7 hands at work, that my being with them is worth 3\$ pr. day to me. . . . This little Town continues to improve: 4. dry good stores, 3. taverns 3 groceries a court house and Jail a Distillery, Tannery, 2 mills, and a printing office expected soon. I keep my eye on the Land where the canal will pass and when that is sold Wright will be up at day break and "have his dish right side up" in Sept. last I bought one half of as fine a quarry of stone coal as there is in this state within 3 miles of several thousand acres of first rate Prairie it answers all the purposes of wood for fuel, it cost me but little and last week I was informed it would soon be worth 500\$. fifty Dollars. . . . This place is as lively in trade and business as any place of its size in my knowledge. I can seldom look out without seeing 6 or 8 Waggonns in the street, travellers strangers and new Emigrants are in continually . . . I am &c

E W.

SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS JULY 15th. 1827

Wars and rumours of War. Preparations are making here to start soon to go and fight Indians At the Lead Mines on the Mississippi River 200 Miles N. N.W. of this place outrages have been committed and the Americans say from 3 to 4 thousand have been called in from digging and are erecting forts for safety, have sent for troops and arms ammunition &c. The frontier settlements from 50 to 100 miles North of this are quite alarmed and Many have moved away some come to this place It is supposed from the last accounts that 6 or 7 tribes of Indians will unite making a force of 15 or 20 thousand warriors The Col. of this Regiment has sent out orders to call the Reg.m. together tomorrow and beat up for volunteers or hold a draft for men to go the frontier settlements to protect. The Indians have given many threats and their actions indicate hostile intentions We have heard of only Seven persons being killed and those some distance up the Mississippi River, as there is a wild prairie about 100 or 150 miles between this and the mines it has become dangerous to pass Several Robberies have already been committed and some been shot at, but none killed. More hereafter—(20) This day all confusion about 250 men (volunteers) starting out for the protection of the inhabitants at the Lead Mines My sales this day were 15 or 20\$ (21st July) This day six companies are to be drafted to stand in readiness of a call at a moment's warning I have just returned from parade where every 3d. man was drafted I stood a pull with the rest and drew a blank and am of course exempt, but shall turn out in case of invasion on the frontier July 30 This day received your kind communication. . . . We have a great *fuss* about Indians these days but I believe it will all blow over without much further disturbance I ridicule the matter tho most of the people still believe we shall have an

Indian war War makes business for the Lazy and circulates cash so let it go as it will I hope to have my dish the right side up Relative to our paper it is *new* and to tell the truth there are many in this country who cannot read or write and do not take the paper. it is supported by a few and tho it is small it is cheap for this country, I have paid for the one I send you in goods and it is no trouble. if you do not want to read it send same to the Esqr. and give the rest to little Neh. (Nehimah) to make kites. . . . My business will not do to leave or I would visit him this summer. . . . There is great speculations in the mines by buying Mineral and valuable Leads the Lead Mines are about 200 miles to the North of this place I will draw a rough sketch of this state on the next leaf and then you can get some idea of my situation tho' on so small a scale you cannot expect correctness or minute particulars. out of 150 voters in this village there is now about 30 the rest have turned out volunteers to fight Indians and trade is now dull (Give *me* Illinois to any other) You say that provisions come so cheap from the west that you have no sale and this is what I told you the west will hereafter always be able to undersell you and eventually we will turn the scale of commerce into our own hands. . . . In haste yours

Respectfully

DOCT S. WRIGHT

E. WRIGHT

PETITION FOR SLAVERY IN KASKASKIA AND CAHOKIA

A rare fourteen-page pamphlet containing a petition to Congress to have the ban on slavery in Indiana Territory (which then included Illinois) removed for ten years has recently been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. The petition was drawn up by a convention at Vincennes, Indiana, on December 28, 1802. Slavery had been forbidden in what is now Illinois by Article VI of the Ordinance of 1787. The article said, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory," and that any slave escaping into the territory could be lawfully reclaimed. An exception was made of the French inhabitants who had long owned slaves, and the so-called voluntary servitude, or indenture system, was common. There was little or no enforcement of Article VI and slavery was so generally accepted in 1802 that there was considerable sentiment to legalize and increase the slave population.

William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, issued the call on November 22, 1802 for an election, by the more than four thousand inhabitants in Indiana and Illinois on December 11, of twelve delegates to meet in convention at Vincennes on December 20. There were twelve delegates to the convention, half of them from the two counties of Randolph and St. Clair into which Illinois was then divided (a strip in the southeastern

corner was a part of Knox County, Indiana). Harrison was a delegate and presiding officer, and John Rice Jones of Kaskaskia was the secretary.

As drawn up by the convention the Memorial and Petition to Congress voiced several other requests besides slavery which the delegates felt would "readily be granted them." Alleging that nine-tenths of the people favored removal of the slavery ban for ten years because it was "extremely prejudicial to their interest and welfare," the petition said the ban against slavery had "prevented the country from populating." It also alleged that many valuable citizens possessing slaves had been driven "to the Spanish side of the Mississippi." Slavery should be permitted for ten years only, it said, but the slaves brought in during that time and their progeny were to remain slaves. In effect, they wanted ten years of wide open slave trade.

The last six pages of the petition asked to have the Indian titles to land in southern Illinois extinguished and the land sold in "smaller tracts, and at a lower price." It was suggested that the land could "be easily obtained from the Indians, and on very moderate and advantageous terms." A law giving pre-emption rights to squatters on the lands was asked, along with grants of "lands for the support of schools and seminaries of learning" to the "two settlements in the Illinois [Kaskaskia and Cahokia]."

Gifts of four hundred acres of land were sought to those who would settle not over twenty miles apart on the roads from Vincennes to Kaskaskia and from Kaskaskia to Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio.¹ The grantee was to "open good waggon roads, and establish houses of entertainment" on the road for five years.

Salt was "very scarce and difficult to be obtained," stated the memorial, and Congress should take steps to "secure the timber in the neighbourhood of the salt-springs from being wilfully or carelessly wasted and destroyed." Without timber to heat the salt kettles no salt could be made. Title to so valuable a natural asset "commonly called the Saline" below the mouth of the Wabash should be vested in the Governor until the "legislature of the territory" was formed.²

The 400-acre tract given to each head of a family living in the Northwest Territory in 1783 was to be laid off for the claimants "adjoining the several villages." The petition asked that these lands be chosen in 400-acre tracts anywhere within twenty miles of Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

The memorialists asked to have the ownership of fifty acres of land

¹ James and Sarah Lusk began to operate a ferry across the Ohio in 1797, and the next year moved to the Illinois side and founded Sarahsville, now Golconda.

² On Feb. 12, 1812 Congress set apart a tract of timber six miles square to support the salt works and leased the springs to Phillip Trammel. When Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818 Congress gave the salt lands to the state which continued the lease system until 1840. The lands were sold at public auction in 1852.

removed as a qualification for voting for representatives to the General Assembly.³ The closing paragraph recites that:

Your memorialists are well aware that the consideration of the numerous objects contemplated by this memorial will require more time than can well be spared from the important and general concerns of the Union; but when they reflect upon their neglected and orphan like situation, they are emboldened to hope that their wants and wishes will meet with all the indulgence and attention necessary to secure to them the relief which is so essential to their welfare and happiness.

The Memorial and Petition was laid before a committee of the House of Representatives on February 8, 1808, of which John Randolph of Virginia was chairman. On March 2 he reported unfavorably from the committee. In his report is this significant passage:

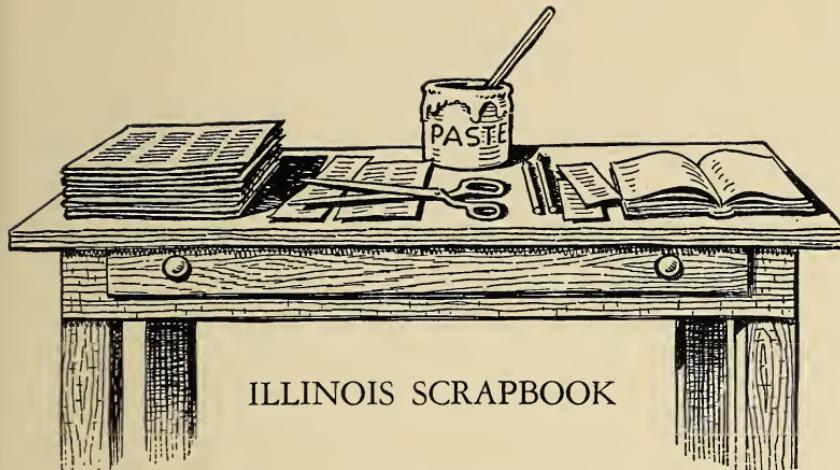
The rapid [increase of] population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States: that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana [Territory] will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration.⁴

³ A freehold estate of 500 acres was a necessary qualification of each member of the legislative council of Indiana Territory; every member of the territorial house of representatives had to have 200 acres of land.

⁴ *American State Papers: Public Lands*, I: 160.

CONSTITUTION AND MEMBERSHIP LIST

A complete membership list and the constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society will be published in pamphlet form in time for distribution at the Spring Tour at Carbondale on May 21-22. The names of all members in good standing on May 1 will be included. Those who do not attend the Tour but wish a copy of the pamphlet may obtain it by writing to the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield.



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

HORSEBACK TOURIST OF 1825

In the summer of 1825, Chester A. Loomis of Rushville, Ontario County, New York, made a horseback trip from his home through Illinois. Loomis wrote the story of his travels and observations in six chapters which were published in booklet form by the Plaineader Press, Bath, New York, under the title *A Journey on Horseback Through the Great West, in 1825*. Upon crossing the Wabash River into Illinois he tells what he heard about the Indians leaving that section:

The Indians were numerous on the Wabash, until recently,—but it seems they have abandoned their country on the approach of the whites. It is said that a singular circumstance hastened them away. A trader employed a steam boat to ascend the Wabash with merchandize. Several hundred Indians, having heard that a huge vessel which emitted fire and smoke, was ascending the river, and stemming its strong current without either oars or sails, collected at their lower towns to witness the phenomenon. Upon its approach these sons of the forest watched its motion with fearful admiration. The boat was about to anchor, and accordingly, the steam was let off. The loud hissing noise thus produced, alarmed the natives.

They instantly took to their heels, and fled in consternation and dismay; hundreds of them pressing tremulously up the river, to escape from the horrible steam engine; and it is affirmed that they never recovered from the panic thus created, until they abandoned the country.

On his way from Vandalia to Kaskaskia Loomis was surprised by a pioneer contrivance:

During the day [I] was excessively annoyed by the prairie flies. The country through which I passed is principally prairie, but many inhabitants are settled upon the borders. I have within a few days noticed several instances of a most singular

method invented for the purpose of protecting horses and oxen while at work upon the plains, from the swarms of flies which assail them. A tin kettle which may hold 16 or 18 quarts, is suspended from the neck of the beast, and a smoke constantly kept up by burning cobs in the kettle.

On July 10 he recrossed the Mississippi and headed toward the Wabash again:

In the section of country which I have traversed within the last five days the few inhabitants residing are almost without exception, Southern emigrants. Many peculiarities are observable among them. Their plantations are generally located on the edge of the prairies. They commonly enclose a field of corn of from ten to thirty acres, and which is the only enclosure they have. Their cabins are miserable log buildings, placed in open commons, generally from 50 to 100 rods distant from their cornfields.

Every man owns an excellent rifle, and has from three to five dogs. Appurtenant to every house is a log smoke house, in which all their meat is smoked,—a hovel or stable to shelter their horses from the flies, and two or three corn cribs which will hold from 500 to 1000 bushels each. Their bread is made of corn meal in a manner very similar to the New England "Jonny cake." The small loaves thus baked, they denominate "dodgers." These they eat with butter and honey; usually a tin pint cup filled with sour, curdled, milk, is placed before each one at table, and dodgers, fried smoked pork, sour milk, butter and honey, commonly constitutes their meal at morning, noon, and night. The emigrants from different states have each their local designation. Thus the Virginians are called "Tuckehoes," the North Carolinians, "Buckskins," the South Carolinians, "Brown Backs," and the New Englanders, "New Yorkers," Jerseymen and Pennsylvanians are all "Yankees."

A WISE PROPHET OF THE 1830'S

Charles Fenno Hoffman, poet and novelist, magazine and newspaper editor, wrote a series of "letters" for the *New York American* about his travels between October 1833 and June 1834. These were later published in two volumes, *A Winter in the West* (1835), from which this excerpt is taken (I: 242-45):

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JAN. 10, 1934.

I have been here more than ten days, without fulfilling the promise given in my last. It has been so cold, indeed, as almost to render writing impracticable in a place so comfortless. The houses were built with such

rapidity, during the summer, as to be mere shells; and the thermometer having ranged as low as 28 below zero, during several days it has been almost impossible, notwithstanding the large fires kept up by an atten-

tive landlord, to prevent the ink from freezing while using it, and one's fingers become so numb in a very few moments when thus exercised, that, after vainly trying to write in gloves, I have thrown by my pen, and joined the group, composed of all the household, around the bar-room fire. This room, which is an old log-cabin aside of the main house, is one of the most comfortable places in town, and is, of course, much frequented; business being, so far as one can judge from the concourse that throng it, nearly at a stand still. . . .

An occasional Indian, wrapped in his blanket, and dodging about from store to store after a dram of whiskey, or a muffled-up Frenchman, driving furiously in his cariole on the river, are almost the only human beings abroad; while the wolves, driven in by the deep snows which preceded this severe weather, troop through the town after nightfall, and may be heard howling continually. . . .

The town lies upon a dead level, along the banks of a narrow forked river, and is spread over a wide extent of surface to the shores of the lake, while vessels of considerable draught of water can, by means of the river, unload in the centre of the place. I believe I have already mentioned that four-fifths of the population have come in since last spring: the erection of new buildings during the summer has been in the same proportion; and although a place of such mushroom growth can, of course, boast of but little solid improvement in the way of building, yet contracts have been made for the ensuing season which must soon give Chicago much of that metropolitan appearance

it is destined so promptly to assume. As a place of business, its situation at the central head of the Mississippi Valley will make it the New-Orleans of the north; and its easy and close intercourse with the most flourishing eastern cities will give it the advantage, as its capital increases, of all their improvements in the mode of living.

There is one improvement to be made, however, in this section of the country, which will greatly influence the permanent value of property in Chicago. I allude to a canal from the head of Lake Michigan to the head of steam navigation on the Illinois, the route of which has been long since surveyed. The distance to be overcome is something like ninety miles; and when you remember that the head-waters of the Illinois rise within eleven miles of Chicago River, and that a level plain of not more than eight feet elevation above the latter is the only intervening obstacle, you can conceive how easy it would be to drain Lake Michigan into the Mississippi by this route; boats of eighteen tons having actually passed over the intervening prairie at high water. Lake Michigan, which is several feet or more above Lake Erie, would afford such a never-failing body of water that it would keep steamboats afloat on the route in the driest season. St. Louis would then be brought comparatively near to New-York, while two-thirds of the Mississippi Valley would be supplied by this route immediately from the markets of the latter. This canal is the only remaining link wanting to complete the most stupendous chain of inland communication in the world.

PIONEER PROBLEM-SOLVER

For a brief period in Illinois history Indians were considered, in some localities, as pilfering nuisances. Such was the setting for the following incident from *The Early Pioneers and Pioneer Events of the State of Illinois* by Harvey Lee Ross (Chicago, 1899), pp. 24-25:

About eighteen months after we moved on our farm [in 1821] an Indian and two squaws came to our house [located just north of Lewistown in Fulton County] to trade some maple sugar for some flour. The Indians at that time made considerable maple sugar, and we were in the habit of getting our sugar from them. The men of our family were all out in the field at work, and there was no one at home but my mother and old Mrs. Niman, my sister Harriet, myself and our little sister Lucinda, who was then about a year old.

While mother was measuring out the sugar and flour one of the Indian squaws stole her brass kettle and secreted it under the skirts of her dress. My mother brought the kettle from New York and prized it very highly. She had been using it just before the Indians came in, and as there had been no other person in the house, she knew very well that one of them had stolen it. So she told the Indians that they must give her back her kettle. They positively denied knowing anything about it, and were starting to go out of the house when my mother seized our long-handled iron shovel, sprang to the door and closed it, and told them they could not go until they gave up the kettle. They still denied having it.

My mother then ordered them to take off their blankets, for they all wore blankets. The Indian took off his blanket and showed that he did not have the kettle; then one of the squaws took off her blanket, and showed that she was innocent; when the other squaw took off her blanket mother could plainly see the outline of the kettle under her skirt. Mother pointed to it and told her to take it out, so the squaw unhooked the kettle from under her dress and gave it to mother, when the Indians were permitted to depart. Mother very well knew that if they got out of the house with the kettle she would never see it again. Her intention was if the Indians did not give up the kettle to hold the Indians there with the big iron shovel until she could send one of the children to the field for the men.

The pioneer fire-shovel was a very heavy and formidable weapon. The women had to do all their cooking in a fire-place, as cooking-stoves were then unknown; and the iron shovel they used to stir up the log fire and to put coals of fire on their bake oven had an iron handle three feet long and the shovel part was maybe six inches square, weighing a pound or so. It would have been a serious thing coming in contact with an Indian's head.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Statesmanship of the Civil War. By Allan Nevins. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1953. Pp. 82. \$2.25.)

Here are three discourses on the Civil War period delivered in the Page-Barbour Foundation series at the University of Virginia in 1951. Professor Nevins of Columbia University in "The Conditions of Statesmanship" suggests the qualities needed by a great statesman besides ability and success. Out of the Civil War with its agonies, losses and confusion, it was difficult to create anything ennobling. Out of the "tragically negative and destructive nature of the crisis . . . Lincoln alone rose superior."

In the second lecture, "The Southern Dilemma," Nevins points out the impossibility of having states rights and a strong Confederacy, of conscription, gathering of supplies and uniting the railroads, with no control over the governors of the states. For example, "when Lee's half-naked army fought its last battles with Grant, Governor Vance had 92,000 untouched uniforms in North Carolina depots." The South produced no statesman in the war who could or did speak for all—not even Jefferson Davis.

"Lincoln as More Than a Statesman," the third lecture, presents a keen insight into Lincoln's abilities, success and failures. "He became the grand harmonizer of the North . . . infusing a new moral meaning into the conflict" by the Emancipation Proclamation. "He almost always addressed himself to men who differed from him, . . . appealed to their reason, not their prejudices and emotions . . . to their better selves."

There was clairvoyance in the *Richmond Whig* editorial of April 17, 1865, two days after Lincoln's assassination, which began: "The heaviest blow which has ever fallen upon the people of the South has descended."

H. E. P.

Stanton: Lincoln's Secretary of War. By Fletcher Pratt. (W. W. Norton: New York, 1953. Pp. 520, xiii. \$5.95.)

America's Civil War never deserved study more than now. Issues prominent in 1954 faced the nation's leaders in 1864. Edwin M. Stanton was one of Lincoln's policy makers. He helped decide issues of civilian over military authority, presidential power against congressional assertions, wartime strategy and postwar policy. As Lincoln's War Secretary, Stanton played a fateful role in the Northern victory. Grant's strategy was made possible by Stanton's energy, which was expended without stint to gather the men and weapons which finally crushed the Confederacy. Even the most determined of Stanton's literary detractors admit his effectiveness as Lincoln's organizer of victory.

Stanton as a politician has a less secure place in history, and Pratt set out frankly to revive his subject's reputation. He failed, for in combating partisanship the author ignored scholarship.

One important instance of scholarly neglect is evident in the author's presentation of the difference between the Lincoln-Johnson reconstruction plans and the Wade-Davis Bill. The latter measure was to become the heart of Radical legislation after 1866. In the presidential plan both executives prescribed that repentant ex-rebels take a loyalty oath before resuming political activity. But Pratt entirely ignores the fact that the requisite oath was one of *future* allegiance, an oath which most Southerners could take without much soul searching once the Stars and Bars were furled in final defeat (pp. 427-28). Wade and Davis' bill (July 2, 1864) demanded a totally different oath—one of *past* loyalty, of the "I am not nor have I ever been" school. Yet, in reviewing this statement of Congress' view of reconstruction (pp. 430-31), Pratt sees no difference between the oath requirements, little to choose between the two plans. Certainly those Southerners who could choose sought the presidential plan and oath. Did not the author refer to the *Statutes at Large* or to Richardson's *Messages and Papers*, both collections being so readily available?

If the documentation appears imperfect, the logic seems strained. Stanton is attractive as a person because his second wife loved him and he wrote convincing letters to her (p. ix). But when Andrew Johnson is sarcastically referred to as "a wonderful family man," Pratt concludes the sentence with the phrase "but that is unimportant" (p. 434).

This political biography of Stanton is almost too brief on the man himself. Stanton rarely comes to life. The reader jumps the years from the nominal subject's birth to adulthood on a literary pogo-stick. This type of locomotion is not made less eccentric by the seemingly haphazard insertion

of "backdrop" paragraphs between chapters. These add nothing, in the reviewer's opinion, and interfere with continuity. In short, Stanton's reputation deserves better of his friends.

Earlham College

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Planting Corn Belt Culture. The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest. By Richard Lyle Power. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1953. Pp. xvi, 196. \$2.00.)

Everyone knows that the Old Northwest, especially the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, was settled mainly by two groups, the Yankees and the "Virginians." Power proves what everyone suspected: that, in the face of the new physical conditions of climate and soil, geography and transportation, the culture traits of the New Englanders and Southerners were blended and the outcome was distinctively Western. The author examined thousands of letters and journals written by the settlers themselves, read contemporary agricultural papers, and consulted the census reports to find out just what the two groups brought with them, how they adjusted to each other, and what each lost and gained to make the new Westerner.

The book makes interesting reading, packed as it is with anecdotes and stories, colorful phrases and weird spelling chosen by the author from his homespun sources. He explores such fascinating bypaths as the settlement of the "wet lands" of Illinois and Indiana, New England boiled dinners, Southern preference for the succulent pork chop, and the part Northern Flint yellow corn and Southern Gourdseed white corn played in the development of modern hybrid seed.

This book will be of interest to Illinoisans, not only because of its theme, but because Power cites new source material, which, if it is explored further, should yield much information about early times in the state.

MacMurray College

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

The Missouri Controversy, 1819-1821. By Glover Moore. (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, 1953. Pp. 383. \$6.00.)

Probing and piercing, examining and weighing both obscure facts and familiar traditions, Glover Moore has achieved a scholarly synthesis of our first great nineteenth-century compromise. Although few purple patches color *The Missouri Controversy*, the style is neither cumbersome nor insipid. Indeed, the book is a decidedly readable package of solid research that convinces and does not obtrude.

Aside from the national impact of the Missouri Compromise, citizens of Illinois may derive local and particular interest from the roles of Illinoisans in 1819-1821. The author by no means minimizes the influence of the New Yorkers, James Tallmadge, Jr., and John W. Taylor, on the critical legislation. But Ninian Edwards and especially Jesse B. Thomas logically advance upon the stage for their hour in the spotlight. Illinois was, in the author's words, "a special party to the Missouri Controversy." The Illinois feature is projected on pages 281-87, and the statement is offered that "the admission of Missouri as a slave state probably made the referendum contest of 1824 in Illinois inevitable."

There is a bit of repetition in the book (pp. 85, 283), and the frequent resort to the word "Democratic," in a Jeffersonian context, may be open to criticism. Far more noticeable is the historian's and publisher's penchant for accuracy and proportion. And the wealth of detail, use of background data, and the exploitation of manuscripts and newspapers of the time make a favorable impression. Glover Moore is not afraid to take a stand. Nor does he hesitate to voice interpretations (pp. 111-27, 342-51). So here is something other than antiquarian spinelessness.

Perhaps a reviewer should never predict. Yet it now seems clear that, in future years, no college student or textbook writer can come to grips with 1819-1821 in American or Illinois history without careful scrutiny of this volume. Like *Reunion and Reaction* by C. Vann Woodward, Moore's *The Missouri Controversy* is a first-rate evaluation of one of the major political landmarks in the annals of the republic.

Lexington, Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

Big Bill of Chicago. By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1953. Pp. 384. \$4.00.)

This is more than a biography; it is an era of Chicago history built around the man who had more to do with it than anyone else. William Hale Thompson, thrice mayor, wanted to be known as "Big Bill the Builder," but as often he was called "Big Bull" or "Kaiser Bill." As the *Chicago Daily News* said at the time of his death: "Big Bill was not a great man; he was a highly successful man in his field. He was not a statesman; he was a consummate politician. . . . [His] success was based on distraction and deception." On several occasions he was convicted of mishandling public money; just as often he was seriously proposed as a possible candidate for President. He was allied, at various times, with and against nearly every prominent figure in the city's public life, and on both sides of nearly every municipal question. He is best remembered for his continued verbal warfare

against King George of England. From his first misstep to the last he was under attack by the *Chicago Tribune* and by Professor Charles E. Merriam, leader of the reform bloc in the city council.

Big Bill was born on May 14, 1867 in Boston. Four generations of Thompsons had left their mark on New England history by fighting the Indians and the British. The family moved to Chicago in 1869. At fourteen Bill went to Wyoming to seek his fortune as a cowboy, returning to attend business college each winter. For three years he managed a 3,800-acre ranch for his father, and on the latter's death in 1891 returned to Chicago.

The prosperous real estate business he inherited was so well managed there was little for him to do. So he joined the Chicago Athletic Club and became the city's leading amateur athlete. He was tackle and captain of the football team which won the national championship in 1896; he was captain of the national championship water polo team and won the Club handball and billiard crowns. He also organized and managed athletic festivals and benefit games.

This was the All-American Boy who was elected to the city council in 1900 as a reform candidate, and who, with the advice and help of Congressman Billy Lorimer, ran successfully for Cook County commissioner in 1902. During the next ten years he was occupied principally with his sports career.

In 1915, with the backing of the reorganized Lorimer forces under Fred ("Poor Swede") Lundin, Big Bill won his first term as mayor of Chicago by a plurality of nearly 140,000 votes. He began auspiciously by ending a streetcar strike and closing the saloons on Sundays, but soon the underworld became bolder, Thompson's isolationism brought him the title of "Kaiser Bill," and scandal followed scandal. His plurality in 1919 was a slim 21,000, and he did not run in 1923. Although out of office, he managed to keep his hand in politics and his name in the public prints. In 1927 he was elected to his third term and was immediately embroiled in school board trials and book banning.

A temporary physical and mental breakdown ensued. In 1931 and 1939 he lost his bids for a fourth term and in 1936 his gubernatorial hopes went glimmering. When he died on March 19, 1944 there were few friends left to mourn him. No will could be found, but safety deposit boxes yielded \$1,466,250 in cash, which has never been explained. Securities and real estate brought the total to \$2,103,024.

There have been other books about Big Bill, but none tells the story so completely or with less bias. This is the fourth collaboration by the two Chicago newspapermen Wendt and Kogan. It is illustrated with a dozen or more photographs and a number of cartoons from the *Tribune* and *Daily News*, and has an adequate index.

H. F. R.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

"The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln." By David Donald. *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1953.) A painstaking, critical review.

"A. Lincoln: By Himself." (*Chicago History*, Summer, 1953). A review of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

"High Lights of Chicago History." (*Chicago History*, Winter, 1952-1953.)

"Lincoln and Private Lennon." By William Frank Zornow. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept., 1953.) Another story of Lincoln's clemency.

"When Abraham Lincoln Spoke in Leavenworth in 1859." (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Aug. 1953.) Newspaper accounts of Lincoln's appearance in Kansas—pro and con.

"President Lincoln's Clemency." By J. T. Dorris. (*Lincoln Herald*, Spring, 1953.)

"Campaign Issues and Popular Mandates in 1864." By William Frank Zornow. (*Mid-America*, Oct., 1953.)

"Taylor's American Voyage, 1768-1769." By W. H. G. Armytage. (*Mid-America*, Oct., 1953.) The adventures of George Taylor, Englishman.

"Abraham Lincoln—Principle and Pragmatism in Politics: A Review Article." By T. Harry Williams. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1953.) A review of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* combined with a study of Lincoln's political philosophy as revealed in his writings.

"Illinois—Healthy Heart of the Nation." By Leo A. Borah. (*National Geographic Magazine*, Dec., 1953.)

"The New England Origins of Mormonism." By David Brion Davis. (*New England Quarterly*, June, 1953.)

"Two Literary Movements: Chicago, 1890-1925." By Bernard Duffey. (*Newberry Library Bulletin*, Oct., 1952.) Cultural growth in Chicago and the activities of the "Little Room" and its bohemian successors.

"The Graham Taylor Collection." By Louise Carroll Wade. (*Newberry Library Bulletin*, Oct., 1953.) A short sketch of the life of an outstanding Chicago social worker.

"The Middle West and the Coming of World War I." By Arthur S. Link.
"The Middle West and the Coming of World War II." By Jeanette P. Nichols. (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, April, 1953.) Two articles on public opinion in the Middle West before the two world wars.

"Lincoln Scolds a General." By Harlan Hoyt Horner. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Winter, 1952-53.) Correspondence between Lincoln and Carl Schurz.



SPRING TOUR SET FOR MAY 21-22

J. Frank Dobie, professor of English at the University of Texas and noted authority on the legends and folklore of the Southwest, will be the principal speaker at the 1954 Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society which will be held in Carbondale. Dobie is the author of more than a dozen books on his favorite subject, among them *Coronado's Children* and *Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest*. He has edited others, including *Legends of Texas*, and has written many magazine articles.

The tour has been set for Friday and Saturday, May 21-22. John W. Allen of Southern Illinois University is chairman of the local committee. Members of the Society will receive their complete programs in ample time to make arrangements to attend.

CENTURY-OLD COVERED BRIDGE

The one-hundred-year-old covered bridge on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is in Randolph County, about five miles northeast of Chester and a mile and a half southwest of Bremen. It spans Little Mary's Creek, a branch of Mary's River, a short distance east of Route 150.

The bridge was completed in 1854 as part of a privately-operated toll road between Bremen and Chester. This one-lane plank road—with turnouts for passing—was used to haul produce to Chester when that town was an important Mississippi River port. In the 1870's the property was sold to the county, and later the bridge and a plot of land adjoining it were presented to the state. It is now maintained by the Illinois Division of Highways as a picnic and recreation area.

From the time it was constructed until 1930 the bridge was in constant use. It was built of hand-hewn native white oak and still has much of the original timber. The siding and floor joists have been replaced and it has had several roofs and floors.

KANSAS CENTENNIAL HISTORY

A feature of the Kansas, Illinois, centennial celebration of last July 15-19, which was listed in the Autumn issue of this *Journal*, was the publication of a souvenir program of forty-eight pages entitled *Our First Hundred Years*. The pamphlet includes a history of the town by D. M. Troll, about twenty-five photographs of historic interest, a schedule and description of the centennial events, and a program of the pageant held on the closing night.

HUBBARD TRAIL MARKER DEDICATED

A historical marker for the Hubbard Trail blazed by Gurdon S. Hubbard, 1822-1824, was dedicated on October 18, 1953, in Momence, which is on the trail. The road, also known as the Vincennes Trace, is perpetuated today in State Highway 1.

The marker was erected by the Illinois State Historical Society, and the dedication ceremony was the occasion for a community celebration—an essay contest in the schools, a poster contest, and historical displays in the store windows. Marilyn Ostrow won first prize in the essay contest, Judy Roberts second and Paula Engelland third. The essays were read by the winners at the dedication ceremonies in the Momence Community High School.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN'S BOYHOOD HOME

The farm home a mile northwest of Salem, Illinois, where William Jennings Bryan spent his boyhood has been purchased by Jean T. McMakin of that city and will be razed this spring. The house was built in the early 1860's by Bryan's father Silas Lillard Bryan, state senator, circuit court judge and member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1870. The brick home with its walnut woodwork and beautiful winding staircase has long been a Salem landmark. In recent years it had been unoccupied and vandalism and the weather had made its restoration impractical. The Bryan family moved to the farm when the future "Great Commoner" was six years old. He had been born in Salem in a small frame house which is still standing and is used as a municipal museum. A two-column story of the Bryan home and farm appeared in the January 28, 1954 issue of the *Salem Republican* of which E. M. Jones is editor.

STORY OF GALENA'S VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

The history of the volunteer fire companies of Galena, written by Virginia R. Carroll, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, is being published in weekly installments in the *Galena Gazette and Advertiser*. The first appeared on January 5. The series will be issued later in pamphlet form. Some of the predecessors of Galena's present-day volunteer fire department were the Neptune, Cataract, Relief and Mechanics' fire companies and the Galena Fire Association.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Officers elected at the November meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society were: Harry L. Meyer, president; William Gissal, vice-president; Charlotte Stamper, secretary; Margaret Hall, treasurer-librarian. Mrs. John F. Lemp was named program chairman; Mrs. William Gabriel, membership chairman; and Mrs. Eric Rhode, publicity chairman. At this meeting H. E. Winans reviewed Charles A. Lindbergh's *The Spirit of St. Louis*. Mrs. Lemp introduced the program with an outline of the history of flying craft.

The theme of the December program was "Christmas in Many Lands." Bulgaria, England, Germany and Denmark were among the countries whose holiday festivities were described.

In January Gus Haller gave a history of Benbow City, the predecessor of today's Wood River. Charles Clark showed a film entitled "Midwest Holiday."

In February Mr. and Mrs. George L. Cashman of Springfield presented "The Lincoln Story," an illustrated colored slide lecture.

A historical marker honoring General Stephen A. Hurlbut has been erected in Belvidere by the Illinois State Historical Society and the Boone County Historical Society. The marker reads:

General Stephen A. Hurlbut 1815-1882. Born South Carolina, admitted to bar 1837. Came to Belvidere 1845. Member Illinois Constitutional Convention 1847. State House of Representatives 1859-61, 1867. In Civil War 1861-65. Brig. Gen. Volunteers 1861. Maj. Gen. Volunteers 1862. First National Commander G.A.R. 1866-68. Minister Colombia 1869-72. Congressman 1873-77. Minister Peru 1881-82. Buried in Belvidere Cemetery.

Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society, 1953.

The marker is located at the southeast corner of East Hurlbut Avenue and North State Street in Belvidere.

The Edwards County Historical Society held open house on Sunday, November 22. Articles used in pioneer homes, some brought from England by the original settlers, were on display. There was an exhibit of weaving on a hundred-year-old loom. The open house was held in the Society's home at 212 West Main Street in Albion, the birthplace of former Governor Louis L. Emmerson.

Officers of the Society are: Mrs. W. A. Wheeler, president; Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner, vice-president; Mrs. Ivan Oakley, secretary; and Mrs. Sherman Killough, treasurer.

The Historical Commission of Elmhurst was created more than a year ago by the mayor and city council "to collect, preserve, and exhibit materials and information concerning the history of Elmhurst." The Commission has been given the use of two rooms in the municipal building for a museum. In November the Commission arranged an exhibit in the Elmhurst Public Library, showing types of material it hoped residents would donate.

The Evanston Historical Society held its fifty-fifth anniversary open house on November 28 at its museum in the basement of the Evanston Public Library. The group will have a new home this year, as the Evanston City Council voted to give it quarters in the city garage building at Railroad Avenue and Clark Street. Ultimately the Society will occupy part of the Charles Gates Dawes home on Greenwood Street.

The Geneva Historical Society at its November 22 meeting honored the Samuel Nelson house on South Third Street with a bronze plaque. The one-hundred-year-old house has remained in the same family throughout the century; the present owner is Helen Ensign. Mary Wheeler read the story of the house, and Mrs. Margaret Allan explained the exhibits which Miss Ensign had loaned or given to the Society for the occasion. William K. Bullock also gave a paper on "Early Kane County Roads" and in connection with his talk showed several old maps of the county.

Knox County Historical Sites, Incorporated, held a dinner meeting in January in the Knoxville Christian Church. The aim of the group is the restoration and preservation of the old Knox County Courthouse and other historic buildings in the county. C. E. Van Norman, of Galesburg, was master of ceremonies and spoke on the importance of saving outstanding landmarks. County Superintendent of Schools J. R. Peck showed colored

slides from his collection of Knox County photographs of historic buildings and sites. Mrs. Morton L. Hotchkiss read a letter written in August, 1836, by Elizabeth Hudson, daughter of an early Knox County settler and grandmother of Mrs. Frances Arnold Woods.

Officers of the Mattoon Historical Society elected in December are: A. G. Greer, president; Harvey Wright, vice-president; and Mrs. George F. King, secretary-treasurer. At the November meeting Mrs. A. I. Berkowitz told of her trip to England last summer at the time of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

The Nauvoo Historical Society met on January 19 at the Nauvoo High School. Speakers included Rollo R. Robbins and Mrs. Pearl Gordon Vestal. The aim of the group, which has eighty-eight charter members, is to bring about the opening of a museum at Nauvoo State Park.

Sixty slides depicting the "Lincoln Trail" were shown to the Peoria Historical Society on January 18 by Mrs. J. C. Thompson, who began making the photographic record when she was in high school. The group met in the Lincoln Room of Bradley University Library.

The Rockton Township Historical Society plans a tour of old homes in Rockton this spring to raise funds to restore the old Stephen Mack house. The building, which stands in Macktown Forest Preserve, was turned over to the Society last fall by the township commissioners.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois state historian, spoke on "New Sources of the Illinois Story" to the Wayne County Historical Society on January 22. The group met in the First Methodist Church in Fairfield.

FAMILY HISTORIES

In the Spring, 1953 issue of this *Journal* were listed the names of those who had presented family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library during the preceding year or more. Since publication of that list the Library wishes to thank the following for family histories received up to December 31, 1953.

Albert M. Austin, New York City, for Austin, *A History of Rev. William Austin and His Wife, Elizabeth, With Their Line of Descent and Lineal Descendants*. Vol. II.

Matthew E. Clancy, Swanton, Ohio, for Clancy, *The Memoirs of Our Family Down to 1952*.

Charles John Eastman, Hollywood, California, for Eastman, *That Man Eastman*.

Mrs. Walter Frank, Jacksonville, Illinois, for Grierson, *Genealogical History of the Griersons or MacGregors*. . .

Hugh Harshbarger, Arlington Heights, Illinois, for Harshbarger, *A Part of the Harshbarger Family Lineage*.

Illinois State Library, Springfield, Illinois, for Boys, *The Boys Family*, and O'Brien, *History of the O'Briens*.

Mrs. Maude Wierman Kennedy, York Springs, Pennsylvania, for Kennedy, *History of the Wierman Family*.

Sidney Albert Marchand, Donaldsville, Louisiana, for Marchand, *The House of Marchand*.

Joseph Bowman Marshall, Wilmette, Illinois, for Marshall, "Marshall Family of Pennsylvania, records: 1650-1952."

Francis Merton Marvin, Bartonsville, Pennsylvania, for Marvin, *Shafer-Huston Family History*.

Mrs. Charles S. Pillsbury, Wayzata, Minnesota, for Holman, *Ancestry of Colonel John Harrington Stevens and His Wife Frances Helen Miller*.

Claude J. Rahn, Vero Beach, Florida, for Rahn, *Genealogical Information Regarding the Families of Brubaker, Bomberger, Fogelsanger*. . .

Mrs. Elmer L. Sherman, Maquon, Illinois, for Bowman, *Mathews Family Record. Descendants of John and Sarah Mathews of County Tyrone, Northern Ireland*.

Alpheus Beede Stickney, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for Stickney, "Lucy & Oliver. Some West Virginia Genealogy: Pierpont, Smell, Jones, Fetty."

James Hayden Wells, El Cajon, California, for Wells, *The Reverend William Wells, Bromsgrove, England and Brattleboro, Vermont. His Family and Descendants*.

Mrs. Frank L. Wilson, Bloomington, Illinois, for Wilson, "A Branch of the Wilson Family"; "The Cornell-Hopkins Genealogy"; "The Main Family."

Edward Hudson Young, Durham, North Carolina, for Young, *Our Young Family in America*.

James Kimble Young, Springfield, Illinois, for: McIver, "The Hart Genealogy"; Seaver, "Bell Family Record"; Young, "A Genealogy of the Elizabeth Williams-Robert Hale-Andrew Moore Family"; "The Whitney Family and a Whitney-Kincaid Genealogy"; "History and Genealogy of Clan Lamont"; "Hesser Family History and Genealogy"; "Complete Genealogy Kincaid-Moore-Gaines Family"; "Complete Genealogy . . . Williams-Porter Family"; "Complete Genealogy . . . Williams-Kincaid Family"; "History and Genealogy of Williams-Francis Family"; "Complete Genealogy of Williams-Goodpasture Family."

REFERENCE

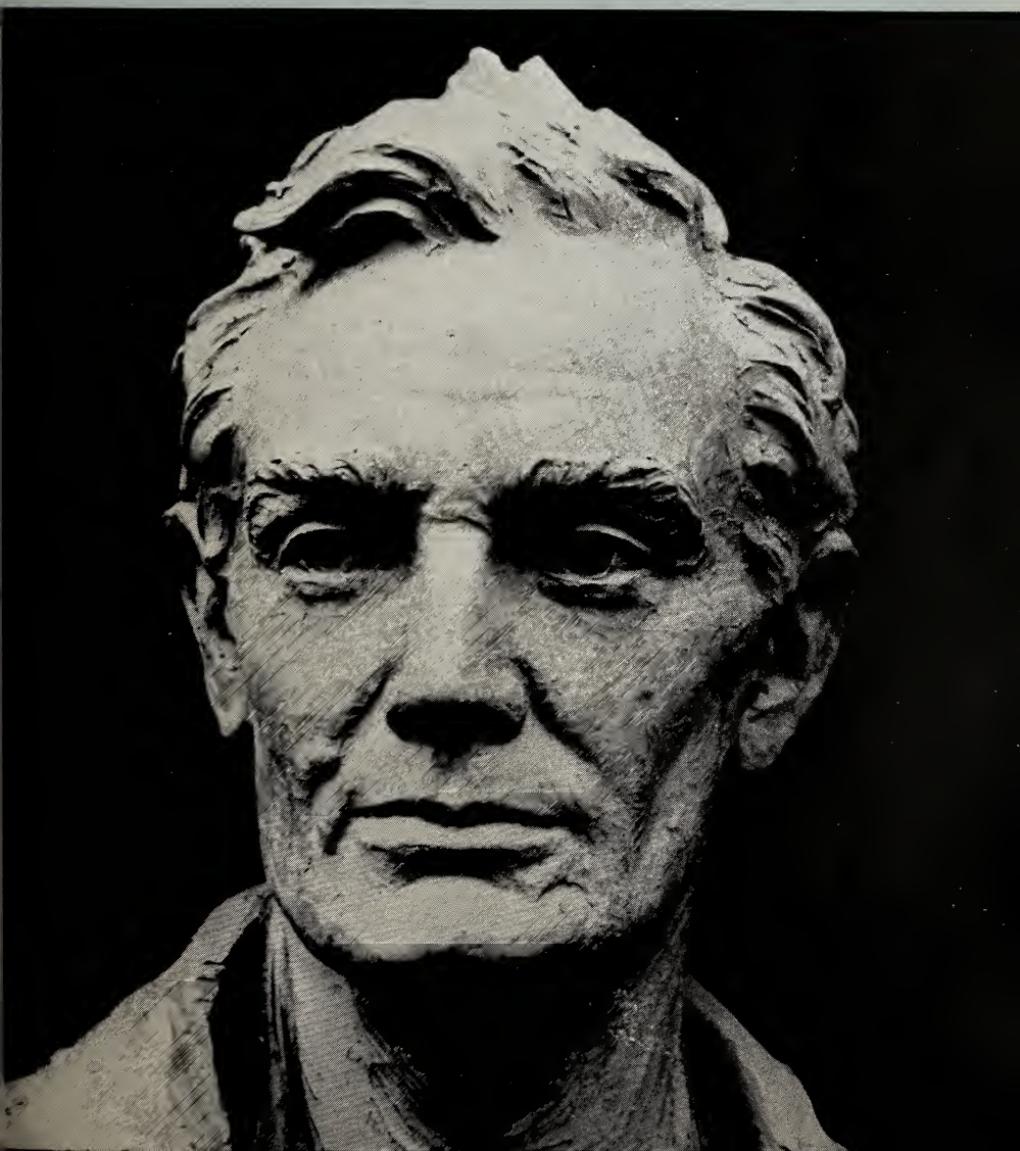
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WILLIAM G. STRATTON, Governor
STATE OF ILLINOIS

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MAKING THE LINCOLN STATUE FOR NEW SALEM

BY AVARD FAIRBANKS

THE task of creating the heroic statue "Abraham Lincoln" for New Salem has not been accomplished in a short period of time, but was the result of years of study. From my early impressions, from my teachers in elementary school, from a study of American history and from a close sympathy with Lincoln's pioneer heritage, I have deeply revered his life and his struggles. I have gathered information from many and varied sources, and have intimately associated with students of Lincolniana. Also, being one who lost his own mother at an early age, I have sensed the spirit of his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, guide of his childhood.

I have made other compositions and other statues of Lincoln, but since there has not been a study in sculpture of his New Salem period, it was a challenging opportunity to bring to the people of America this phase of the determining years of his life.

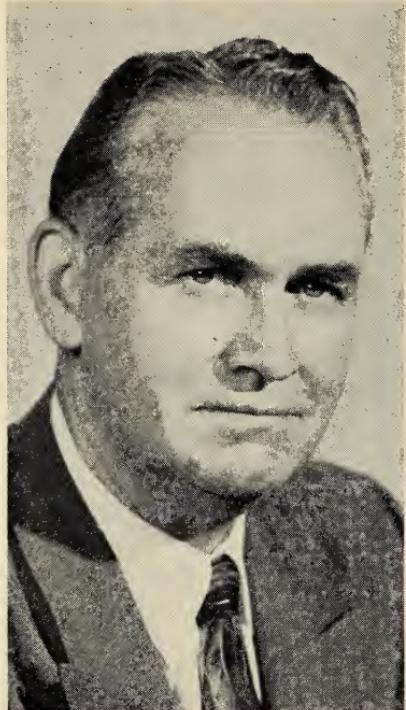
To make a suitable statue of such a subject, one must first get in mind a basic concept of the character and qualities of the person to be portrayed. The spirit of the times

Avard Fairbanks, sculptor of the new heroic bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln at New Salem, is Consultant in Fine Arts to the University of Utah. Among his other works are "Lincoln the Frontiersman," a nine-foot bronze figure at Ewa School near Honolulu, Hawaii, and the Leonard Andrus monument at Grand Detour, Illinois. Photos for this article were supplied by the author.

has to be sensed. One must consider the location of the statue as well as many other factors. A memorial should be made in a size commensurate with the personage who has achieved eminence and has performed heroic deeds. Therefore a statue

that would look well in a public park or public building should be of heroic size—eight or nine feet high. A life-size statue placed in the open gives the impression of a small man, and such a statue in no way would characterize Lincoln.

When he arrived in New Salem late in July, 1831, Lincoln was twenty-two years of age, a "friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flat boat," as he later described himself. He soon gave up rail splitting to become a storekeeper, soldier, postmaster, surveyor, and later a member of the state legislature and a student of law. This is the period of his life that I proposed to recreate in a statue of



A black and white portrait of Avard Fairbanks, a man with dark hair and a mustache, wearing a suit and tie. The portrait is framed by a thin black border.

AVARD FAIRBANKS

impressive and heroic bronze sculpture. To symbolize it I chose to compose Lincoln with the implement of his past activities, an ax (in his left hand), showing him as a capable, stalwart man of the frontier, and a law book (in his right hand), portraying him also as a man of mental pursuits and capabilities.

I devoted much time to making different studies of the head of Lincoln as he appeared at the age of twenty-eight when he left New Salem to practice law in Springfield. I had excellent reproductions of the life masks of his face and

his hands, cast before his election to the presidency by the sculptor Leonard Volk. These were invaluable because they gave actual shape to his head, features and hands. The use of these, along with fine photographs, gave an opportunity to put into that face and those hands the vibrant spirit, personality and character of Lincoln as a young man.

The sculpture of the New Salem Lincoln portrays him as tall, broad-shouldered and courageous, with the strength and spirit of young manhood. His eyes are deep and far-seeing. There is vision and anticipation in his entire countenance. His whole attitude of mind and body looks outward and forward as if clearly foreseeing a significant destiny for himself and his fellow men.

The foregoing are necessary concepts to have in mind as one develops them into their physical manifestations; and further, it is a great satisfaction to have others feel that an assignment of this nature has been well performed and that it will uplift beholders to the great ideals of the one portrayed.

The preceding paragraphs tell of the necessary considerations involved in putting the spirit into the work. They outline the procedure I used in arriving at the concept, or what is termed the content in art. To give an idea of how those matters are evolved into material form by a sculptor in the completion of a study, the following description of the various activities entailed is presented.

Many constructive processes are utilized in setting up a heroic statue through sketches, enlarging them into a scale size or working model, and then enlarging again from the working model into the final heroic size. Preliminary sketches of Lincoln were made in drawings. After many trials of one study and another, finally the subject matter and the position which seemed to be the most effective and appropriate to show Lincoln in Illinois in the period of transition in his life, "at the Crossroads of Decision," when he saw a new future ahead, were decided upon for the New Salem location.

After the general position and attitude of the study were agreed on, a preliminary model, one-fourth of the full heroic size or one-third life size was developed. From this was constructed the one-half heroic size working model, utilized as the experimental study, and in making the large, nine-foot-high model of the size known as heroic. Beyond the drawing sketches three different models were constructed and carried to completion.

FIRST MODEL

Only a slight support was required for the first model. To construct the armature or framework, a rigid iron pipe was arranged in an upside-down L shape. To this were attached flexible aluminum wires arranged to extend throughout the body, the limbs and the ax. Toward the central part of the study-to-be, the vertical part extended upward from the board upon which the model was constructed. The horizontal bar of the L was arranged to extend parallel to the board to near the central area of the figure (not yet made at the time of armature building), and the final upturned foot of the L became the rigid part for the body of the model to be made. This was a sort of backbone upon which the rest of the wire skeleton was to be fastened. Onto this member were added flexible aluminum wires, stretching from the board upward and back again, forming the skeleton for the legs, body and head. Additional wires were wrapped securely to the terminal portion of the inverted L-shaped pipe extending into the body. The wires, being flexible, allowed the legs, arms and head to be moved about in various positions while the body remained firm. Any type of standing figure can be built upon such a framework and can be adjusted to any position.

After the wires were arranged into place, plastelina (a special clay) was added on them in rolls until the form of

the miniature statue took shape. The plastelina was formed anatomically to get the bodily members into their proper shape and proportions. Afterward the draperies were added. Finally the face, features and other details were made to express the concepts of the sculptor (Fig. 1).

SECOND MODEL

From the first model, a model one-half heroic size was made, in order to gain further details which could not be attained in the smaller study. The armature of this study was built, not like that of the plastelina sketch, but in much the same manner as that of the heroic study, because it had to be the basis of construction of the latter from the beginning to the end. This second model, known as the scale or working model, was developed as an experiment in the construction of the larger nine-foot statue. While the smaller model was made in plastelina, the two larger ones were completed in water clay. Furthermore, instead of using an armature with an L support extending in toward the body, the armatures for the clay studies had to be built to be inside.

Accurate measurements had to be made in the enlarging process, for both scale model and heroic size (Figs. 1 and 2). In order to do this, two three-dimensional T squares proportionate to each study were made, with bases that could be moved on the stand or floor. The upright members and the horizontal depth measuring rulers were ruled for each model, with all measurements computed to be in scale to each other (Fig. 3).

The experimental or scale model was developed from the first one, following all the movements and contours of each part of the total figure. Thus there was an endeavor to retain the spontaneity and the attitude that was achieved with the freedom of composing which was put into the preliminary studies. Particular care was taken in making this scale model so that the heroic size statue would also vibrate and have the

same spirit as that achieved in the first composition. This spirit has to be maintained right up to the completion of the work.

THIRD MODEL—HEROIC SIZE

In the heroic model the armature was arranged to fit into the completed form of the statue. Wire mesh over wooden supports was used to make the shape, not only of the body, but of the logs at Lincoln's feet as well. All of the construction had to be measured and formed one inch smaller than the surface of the clay model in the finished statue which was to be. Figuring this out was an engineering job.

After the final development of the armature, the water clay which had been mixed and prepared was put on in rolls, making first the anatomical construction and later adding the clothing and further details (Fig. 3). Finally the character and likeness had to be accomplished.

One reason for a thoroughly constructed armature is the fact that clay does not stand up very well. It is a very difficult problem for the sculptor to keep the clay from falling, particularly in large studies where thousands of pounds of moldable material are hanging and ready to drop at any time.

Another problem is how to keep the clay wet. Soaked cloths may be kept over the study, but these often mar the sculptor's work by rubbing the surface. At present a new, very lightweight plastic cloth which keeps out air is available to prevent drying of the clay. Such a cloth was used to cover the Lincoln study while it was not being worked on.

The heroic size model, twice the height of the half-heroic, contained eight times its bulk. Thus the armature had to be more rigid, to support eight times the amount of clay. Calculations showed that a ton of powdered clay would be used, and the addition of one-third more water would make the heroic size statue weigh about three thousand pounds. Further add-

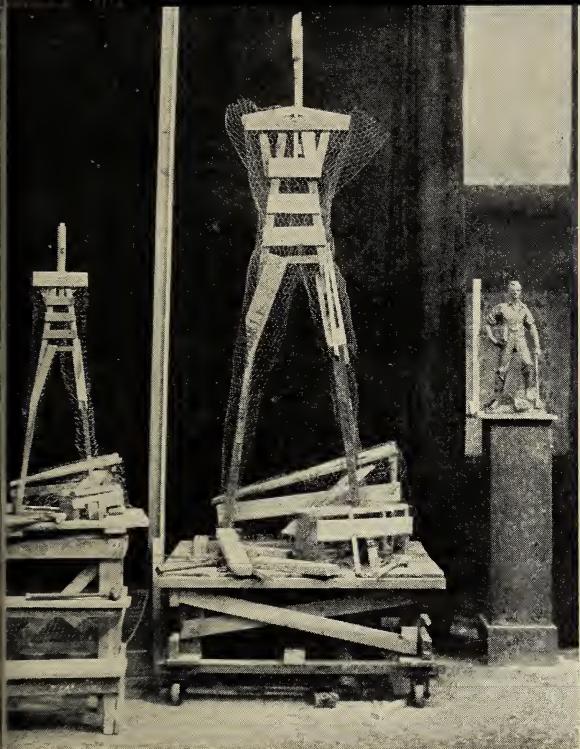


FIG. 1. The armature. Note the three models—the working model (left), the heroic size, and the sketch.

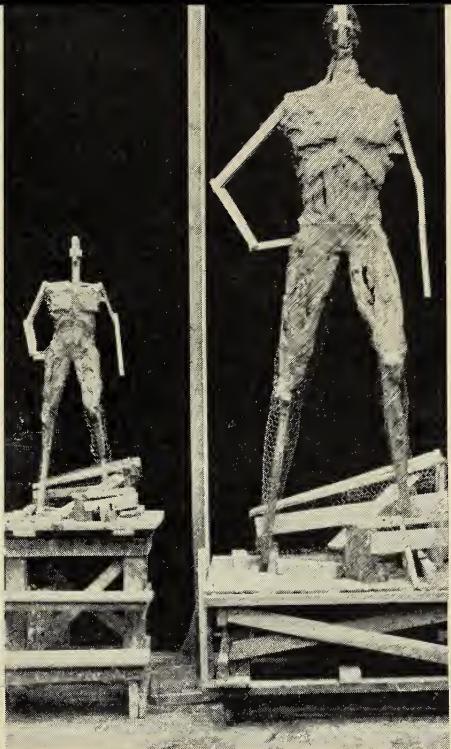
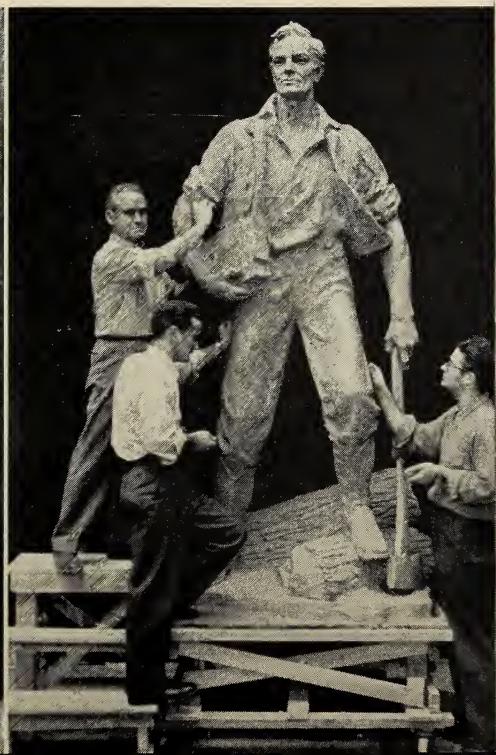


FIG. 2. Clay is added to the armature to which wire mesh has been fastened to give shape to the finished study.

FIG. 3. Progress shown on the heroic size figure. Upright board at left is three-dimensional T square.

FIG. 4. Sculptor and assistants at work Avard Fairbanks, above, and sons Justin (left) and Elliott.



ing to this the weight of the armature and the weight of the plaster when casting it, a possible four to five thousand pounds had to be anticipated.

CLAY MODELING

Preparing a ton of clay was a considerable undertaking. When it was mixed and made to the right consistency, it was formed into large rolls; these were made into smaller ones, then added piece by piece to the large armature. The body was made first, then the legs and arms, and finally the head. All the skill and artistic training of the sculptor came into play in this part of the work. The body had to be anatomically correct. Research was necessary to make the costume according to the period. To gain the true spirit and character of Lincoln, research and consultations had to be carried on so that the right impression of the man and the ideals for which he stood could be adequately and correctly portrayed.

CASTING IN PLASTER

After the model was fully developed in the studio and approved, the work was ready to be cast in plaster. It had to be in a hard medium so that it could be sent to the bronze foundry.

There are a number of processes for plaster casting: the piece mold, the glue mold and the waste mold. The glue mold was used for the small model; but for the half-heroic and heroic size, the waste mold process was used. This meant that the mold was wasted or chiseled away (as in marble carving) in making the casting. The molds had to be made in sections, then taken apart, cleaned, shellacked, greased, and put back together. After these operations, the plaster was poured into the mold.

It was impossible to handle a large nine-foot mold so that it could be poured, so it had to be cast section by section.



FIG. 5. Tin strips are inserted in clay to form separations for the molds.



FIG. 6. The clay figure is covered with blue plaster.

FIG. 7. Reinforcement is added to the plaster-covered statue.

FIG. 8. Sculptor Fairbanks carves away the mold.



In making the heroic Lincoln statue, a large section was arranged so as to cast a mold of the entire front of the statue—this is called the master section. Strips of sheet tin were cut two inches in width and of various lengths to be stuck edge-wise into the clay. These were placed up one side, over the head, and down the other side (Fig. 5). Strips of tin were then arranged around the back horizontally to make sections every twelve to fifteen inches.

When the section forming was accomplished, the entire front portion was made into a mold. Casting plaster was mixed into a tub about half full of water, with household bluing added to give it color. The plaster was stirred to about the consistency of cream. Then it was laid on with brushes and thrown onto the figure until it made about a one-eighth inch coating all over one section (Fig. 6). This was repeated with another coat of blue plaster. There was a further coat of white plaster, and later more plaster reinforced with plaster-soaked strips of burlap. Finally a reinforcement of iron bars and pipes was added. On this particular piece, two long two-by-four inch boards were arranged so that the mold could be laid down for cleaning and refilling for the casting (Fig. 7).

After the front or master section of the mold was made, each section was done in the same manner, starting with the base at the back. Each section had to be well reinforced. Upon completion of all sections, the mold was taken apart and the clay and armature removed. The cleaning was begun by clearing away the clay from the mold, digging bits from indentations and undercuts, and washing away with a sponge any clay which adhered to the surface of the plaster molds. All surfaces were then prepared with two or three coats of orange shellac (Fig. 9). After this they were greased with stearic acid and kerosene mixed to a paste-like consistency. This separating material was brushed well over the surface

which was to be cast, then wiped evenly and cleaned with a grease brush.

Instead of pouring plaster into the mold, the large front section, which was lying face down, was cast by first throwing the liquid white plaster into it by small handfuls and also by brushing in plaster to give a coating about one-half inch thick. It was then reinforced with burlap strips soaked in plaster. Large pipes and irons, shellacked to keep them from rusting, were fastened with burlap strips soaked in liquid plaster. They were arranged up and down through the legs and about the base and every portion that required strengthening.

The side portions were trimmed so as not to affect the filling, which was done as soon as the plaster was made the proper thickness with adequate reinforcing.

Then liquid plaster was thrown by small handfuls into the separate sections of the base, and after a coating of one-

FIG. 9. Elliott Fairbanks fits a section of the mold to the master section. The clay has been removed and the interior shellacked.



half inch was accumulated, they were reinforced by irons and burlap strips soaked in plaster, as was the master section.

After the base sections were put onto the front one, plaster ties were added to the sides on the outside. On the inside, large gaps occurred where the plaster was not fully brought to the edge, or where the trimming was done. These gaps were filled with liquid plaster and further irons added to fasten the sections securely to make the mold and casting totally one. Then the large front section with the base sections added was lifted into an upright position. The various other sections were then cast and added one on top of the other to the lower portion, previously cast, until the very top section was finally added. Molds and cast were all then firmly fastened together.

The next procedure was to remove the mold by chiseling it away as in marble carving (Fig. 8). This was done by first cutting away the irons and iron reinforcing with hatchets, then removing the burlap reinforcing. Then appeared the white plaster coating. The appearance of blue plaster during the chiseling away of the plaster mold was a warning that the surface of the statue was near. Careful chiseling and cutting away of the blue plaster revealed the white statue exactly as it was in clay, except for the fins which occurred between the sections. After cutting away the fins, and retouching some bubble holes and occasional places where the chisel slipped through the blue plaster into the white model, the plaster statue was finished.

Three models in all had been made, and the last of these—the heroic size—had gone through three processes in order to have it in semi-permanent form. The plaster positive was now ready for crating and shipping to the bronze foundry.

THE CASTING IN BRONZE

Bronze foundry work is done by men who have spent a lifetime in the particular mechanics of reproducing sculpture

in bronze. Two processes for sculpture are generally used, the sand process and the *cire perdue* or lost wax process, the latter meaning that the wax is lost while making the casting. The Lincoln statue was done by the lost wax process.

To get a wax casting, glue molds are made from sections of the plaster model. Wax is brushed over the surface of the glue molds, then later poured into them to make the thickness of the bronze—about three-eighths of an inch. The glue is then removed, and the wax is the same as the original clay and the original plaster. Composition material is poured into the hollow of the wax to form the core. Nails to support the mold are driven through the wax into the core on very flat surfaces which can be easily retouched. Then on the outside of the wax composition material called "luto" is added to form the mold. This mold is made into a barrel shape. When completed it is placed in a kiln for drying. During the drying, which takes weeks to accomplish, the wax melts out or evaporates as a gas, leaving a hollow where it was. The large barrel-shaped composition luto mold is then placed in a pit and packed about with earth. Into an opening at the top of the mold, which is arranged to receive the metal, the molten bronze is poured.

The numerous sections of the statue follow this same procedure. When the bronze sections have cooled, the luto is removed, the nails knocked out, the bronze welded in spots and retouched (or chased), and finally welded together. It is then ready for the patina or coloring by acids. This is done to give the effect of aging or weathering, which would occur in nature but which is hastened in the foundry. Men have spent many years arriving at this specialty of doing patinas for bronze casting.

As Lincoln was the great spirit who maintained the unity of the North and South in a crisis, it is hoped that his spirit and likeness in bronze may keep alive his great ideals, and be

a factor in the constant unity of the East and West, as well as the North and South,

That government of the people,
By the people,
For the people,
Shall not perish from the earth.

GRANITE BASE

Not only can the statue itself have meaning, but the base too may carry significance. Granite was chosen for the base of the New Salem Lincoln because it is solid and sturdy, as was the character of the Emancipator. The particular type of stone called rainbow granite was selected because the rainbow is a symbol of hope for the people of today as it was in ancient days and as it was when Lincoln lived at New Salem and formed his hopes for America.

On the upper portion of the pedestal, in a band going completely around it, is the following inscription:

With malice toward none
With charity for all
With firmness in the right
As God gives us to see the right.

On the lower portion, in a smaller but similar band, is the statement that the memorial, which was dedicated on June 21, was "Presented to the State of Illinois by the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers 1954 Nicholas G. Morgan Sr. President & Donor."

These inscriptions express the good will and bond of friendship of the people of the two states whose history was so closely linked together in the pioneer days of our great nation, and who today earnestly seek closer co-operation through the ideals so clearly expressed by one of the sons of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln.

LINDBERGH FLIES AIR MAIL FROM SPRINGFIELD

BY WILLIAM A. STEIGER

THE air mail pilots of the 1920's pioneered commercial air transportation in Illinois at a time when few people considered the airplane a convenient, rapid form of travel for long distances. At first only mail filled the cargo compartments of the early single-engine biplane, forerunner of the modern airliner. Air commerce stood on the threshold of a brilliant future thirty some years ago, but few people had the vision and faith to support this fledgling industry in the face of public apathy to air travel.

One of the most stirring examples of sincere faith in this new means of transportation occurred in Springfield, Illinois, in the spring of 1926 following the announcement by the Post Office Department that a contract for air mail service had been awarded for the Chicago-St. Louis route, with intermediate stopping points in Peoria and Springfield. This announcement launched a determined program designed to make air mail service a permanent success. With the co-operation of civic leaders and organizations, the air mail contractor, and Springfield businessmen, the postmaster and post office staff set in motion a campaign which, within only a few weeks

William A. Steiger retired in 1950 as acting postmaster after thirty-two years of service in the Springfield Post Office. In 1926 he was Postmaster Conkling's chief assistant in the promotion of air mail service.

of the inauguration of the air mail flights, gave the new service a reception unequalled in any other community up to that time.

The airplane, as a practical means for transporting freight and passengers, emerged from World War I with a creditable record for performance and achievement. The adaptation of the airplane to military tactics during four years of warfare produced revolutionary advances in design, construction and performance, which were beyond the comprehension of the men who pioneered heavier-than-air flight for more than a decade following the Wright Brothers' flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of people turned their attention to the possibilities of rapid transportation of heavy loads, whether of passengers, mail or freight, in airplanes over vast distances and at speeds previously impossible.

Numerous ventures in air transportation were commenced within two or three years after the close of the war, but virtually all failed because of public apathy toward air travel. Between 1918 and 1926, only one instance of commercial air transportation experienced a continuous existence. The Post Office Department organized air mail service in 1918, and continued its operation until 1927, when the New York-San Francisco mail route was transferred to private contractors.

During the early 1920's the consistent high standard of performance achieved by the government air mail service awakened the American public to the possibilities of air travel. This, coupled with outstanding achievements in design and construction of aircraft suited to the requirements of commercial aviation, and countless examples of reliable performance of aircraft, tended to draw confidence and win the support of the public. Commercial air transport sought recognition and the chance to prove its advantages, but earlier experiences, in this country and in Europe, indicated that the fledgling industry could not stand on its own feet; that government aid was essential to promote commercial aviation.

Direct subsidization of commercial aviation ran counter to the best traditions of American life in the 1920's. However, it was not beyond the means of government to give the new airline companies aid by indirect means through the purchase of services. Railroads and steamship companies were paid for carrying mails. Why not pay private carriers to transport the air mail? This idea appealed to many who recognized that private carriers could do the job at less than it cost the government and provide efficient service over a greater selection of routes. The revenues from the air mail, it was thought, would bring new companies into existence and carry them through the lean years until passenger and freight volume developed sufficiently to enable them to earn their way.

On February 2, 1925, the first air mail law, known as the Kelly Bill in honor of its sponsor, Representative Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania, laid the foundation for commercial aviation. This act, designed to "encourage commercial aviation and to authorize the Postmaster General to contract for air mail service," empowered the Post Office Department to pay private individuals and corporations for carrying the mail at a rate not exceeding four-fifths of the total revenue derived from the mail transported.¹ Other provisions of the bill gave the Postmaster General authority to draw up and enforce such rules and regulations as were necessary to govern the operations of the commercial carriers.

Soon after the Kelly Bill became law, the Postmaster General advertised for proposals for contract air mail service over twelve routes but bids were accepted for only eight in the early fall of 1925.² The Robertson Aircraft Corporation, Anglum, Missouri, received the award for Contract Air Mail route number two (C.A.M. No. 2), between Chicago and St. Louis, with intermediate pickup and delivery points at Peoria and Springfield. The service was to begin on April 15,

¹ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XLIII, Pt. 1 (Washington, 1926), 805-6.

² *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1925 (Washington, 1925), 31-32.

1926, and consist of a single flight in each direction, five days a week. Following the announcement of the awarding of the contracts, the Robertson corporation began negotiating with chambers of commerce and civic groups at service points on the proposed route for the establishment of landing facilities and the encouragement of local interest in air mail service.

In Springfield, the Chamber of Commerce, Postmaster William H. Conkling, the post office staff, and various civic groups set about to insure the success of the air mail in that city. Conkling called the first of many meetings with the Chamber of Commerce and the post office staff early in the spring of 1926. From the first, air mail enthusiasts faced two major problems. A suitable landing field had to be procured and prepared for the inauguration of air mail service; consequently funds had to be raised and a field selected before the lease could be negotiated. Also, local citizens and business firms had to be awakened to the benefits to be derived from the new service—the time saving advantages in the delivery of mail to St. Louis, Chicago, and more distant points.

The Chamber of Commerce assumed responsibility for securing and maintaining a "municipal" airport for the mail planes and other aviation activities centering in Springfield. Early in April, its special two-man committee leased a sixty-acre tract of tiled, turfed land on the Martin Bell farm four miles north of the city on the Peoria road.³ A lighting system of perimeter and floodlights was installed with funds raised by public subscription.

While final arrangements were being completed for the airport, plans were under way for an educational campaign to awaken Springfield's business concerns and private citizens to the advantages of air mail service. To stimulate interest in the inaugural flights from the city, Robertson Aircraft provided the Springfield Post Office with colorful air mail en-

³ "Affidavit of G. Craig Isbell, Secretary of Springfield Aviation Company," Civil Aeronautics Board, Docket No. 5988.

velopes, complete with special red and blue stripes across the front, a silhouette of Abraham Lincoln, and the words: "From the Home of Abraham Lincoln."⁴ The post office and the postal affairs committee of the Chamber of Commerce distributed these souvenir envelopes to business houses and individuals who wished to dispatch air mail letters on the first day of flights from Springfield.

Special efforts were made to induce business houses to utilize the faster air mail service for their correspondence to distant points. Edward M. Majors, secretary of the wholesale credit department of the Chamber of Commerce, and the writer, a member of the post office staff, formed a special two-man "boosters" committee to encourage local business firms to utilize the air mail to the fullest possible extent.⁵ This committee called on local firms, repeatedly when necessary, to obtain estimates of the number of letters each anticipated sending out regularly through the new service. For the inaugural flights many firms promised to dispatch all of their mail for that day via the planes.

Local newspapers entered enthusiastically into the air mail campaign. Interested parties addressed assemblies in the schools on the subject. Civic clubs and organizations were told of the saving in delivery time that could be gained by air mail to Chicago and cities on the transcontinental air mail route. Members of the post office staff and the postal affairs committee solicited factories and state offices to sell air mail stamps and arouse interest. With each stamp the purchaser received a souvenir envelope.

Under the impact of this carefully planned and executed program of public education popular support was lined up quickly behind the air mail service. An initial supply of 8,500 souvenir envelopes fell short of the demand several days prior to the inaugural flights. A second order of 10,000 soon dis-

⁴ *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), April 11, 1926.

⁵ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1926.



FIRST-DAY SOUVENIR COVER

Nearly 24,000 of these envelopes were distributed to prospective users in Springfield. Approximately 19,000 pieces of air mail were flown from the city on the day the service was inaugurated. Note the signatures of Postmaster Conkling and Pilot Lindbergh at the left.

appeared as did a third order for 5,000. By April 15 nearly 24,000 envelopes were in the hands of potential air mail users.⁶ One factory purchased 3,500 stamps, and others bought as many as a thousand or more. The prospect of a record air mail shipment appeared promising. Chamber of Commerce officials and Postmaster Conkling expressed confidence that Springfield would surpass the record load of 5,000 letters for a single day's flight set by Detroit two months earlier on the occasion of inauguration of service between that city and Chicago and Cleveland by Ford Air Transport.⁷

During the week or ten days prior to the opening of the route final arrangements were completed by the Chamber of Commerce and post office officials. A last minute change in plans occurred when Chief Pilot Charles A. Lindbergh of the Robertson Aircraft Corporation discovered that the field on the Bell farm was too wet to permit safe landing of the big De Haviland mail planes to be used by the contracting firm. On April 9, Lindbergh flew to Springfield to arrange for test

⁶ *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), April 13, 1926.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1926.

flights on the following day. He landed safely on the Bell farm, but upon discovering that only a dry strip of land ran down the center of the field, he lifted his plane into the air again, setting it down some minutes later on a large dry field on the William Bosa farm a few miles west of the city on the Beardstown road.⁸ He insisted that the original field could not be used until thoroughly drained and necessary precautions taken against the possibility of wet grounds in the future. Postmaster Conkling and the Chamber of Commerce began negotiations immediately for use of the field on the Bosa farm on a temporary lease until drainage and repair work could be completed on the Chamber of Commerce airport.⁹

A non-Springfield resident, unfamiliar with the intense activity taking place in preparation for air mail service, might well have described the local post office, during the few days preceding the opening flights, as the center of a Christmas holiday rush. Letters from city and county residents mounted in volume as the inauguration date approached. Special air mail letter boxes, painted red, white and blue to distinguish them from regular letter boxes, were placed at strategic spots throughout the downtown district in an effort to encourage the early deposit of letters for the flights.¹⁰ Postmaster Conkling devised a special cachet with which all letters on the first day flights were to be stamped with the date, time of flight (to distinguish between the morning southbound and the evening northbound trips), and the words, "First Flight."¹¹ Nearly 2,500 letters, from first day cover collectors and souvenir hunters, were sent to Postmaster Conkling from other cities and states.¹²

Two planes were dispatched over C.A.M. No. 2 on April 10 on a "dry-run," or "pathfinder" flight, to test the flying

⁸ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1926.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Illinois State Register*, April 4, 1926.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1926.

¹² *Ibid.*

schedule set by the Post Office Department, to check the landing facilities at the intermediate stops, and to acquaint the pilots with the full length of the route.¹³ Charles A. Lindbergh and Phil R. Love, the only two regular air mail pilots employed by the Robertson corporation at the time, took off from Lambert-St. Louis flying field, the southern terminal and headquarters for the contracting company, on a northbound flight to Chicago, via Springfield and Peoria, with brief stops planned for each intermediate service point. Ray Alexander of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and D. J. Brandewide, superintendent of Robertson Aircraft, accompanied Lindbergh in one plane. Love left St. Louis without a passenger, but picked up V. Y. Dallman, managing editor of the *Illinois State Register*, at his first stop at the Springfield airport. From Springfield, the two planes continued northward to Peoria, where they alighted at the Varney Airport, and then proceeded to Maywood Air Mail Field, the northern terminal of the route. The southbound flight occurred on the afternoon of the following day.

On the morning of April 15, Lindbergh opened the new route with the first scheduled southbound flight. At 5:50 A.M., after waiting for the overnight mail plane from New York to land and transfer the St. Louis mail to his ship, he lifted the big mail plane into the air and pointed it toward Peoria, the first stop on the flight to St. Louis.¹⁴ He arrived at the Springfield airport precisely on schedule, picked up two pouches of mail for St. Louis, and ten minutes later roared off on the final portion of the first air mail flight between Chicago and St. Louis, by way of Peoria and Springfield. The morning flight slipped by quickly without formal ceremonies

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Charles A. Lindbergh, "We" (New York and London, 1927), 175; *Illinois State Register*, April 16, 1926; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 16, 1926. This was not the first air mail service between Chicago and St. Louis. From Aug. 16, 1920 through May 31, 1921 the Post Office Department operated an air mail route between those two cities by way of Rantoul, where Chanute Field was utilized as an intermediate servicing point. *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, 1921 (Washington, 1921), 45-46.



Photo courtesy Esther B. Mueller, St. Louis, Mo.

PILOTS WHO FLEW AIR MAIL FROM SPRINGFIELD

Charles A. Lindbergh, left, and Phil R. Love, when they flew the first air mail over the St. Louis-Springfield-Peoria-Chicago route on April 15, 1926.

at the service points. In both Springfield and Peoria official inauguration ceremonies were planned for the afternoon flights.

In Springfield, official ceremonies marking the opening

of the air mail route began with a parade of automobiles from the Post Office on Sixth Street to the landing field on the Bosa farm. Many people went directly to the landing field, but apparently the majority of Springfield's curious citizens, who wished to witness the passing of this milestone in local history, formed in a parade of automobiles at the Post Office to accompany the official cars of dignitaries and the mail trucks to the field. A long line of autos formed along Sixth Street as early as four o'clock on that Thursday afternoon, but it was not until thirty minutes later that the mail trucks and the official party, riding in the splendor of new Packard cars furnished especially for the occasion, moved to the head of the line and started the procession on its way to the Bosa farm.¹⁵

The official party consisted of Postmaster Conkling; members of the Chamber of Commerce; city, state, and national government figures, and members of the post office staff.¹⁶ A detachment of motorcycle police from the city and state forces led the mile-long procession.

More than 5,000 people had crowded along the west side and in the southwest corner of the landing field by the time the two mail planes were due to arrive from St. Louis.¹⁷ The official party drew up around the mail trucks on the west side of the field to await the planes. A detachment of national guardsmen from Springfield kept the milling crowd restricted to the edge of the field and away from the area cleared for the planes to land and taxi to the mail trucks.¹⁸ Pathe News cameramen waited with the official party to record on film the formal opening of air mail service linking Springfield with St. Louis and Chicago.¹⁹

Robertson Aircraft scheduled three planes for the north-bound flights in anticipation of a record load of mail from

¹⁵ *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1926; *Illinois State Register*, April 16, 1926.

¹⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1926.

¹⁷ *Illinois State Register*, April 16, 1926.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

both Springfield and Peoria. Lindbergh lifted his No. 109 mail plane from the runway of Lambert-St. Louis Field at 3:55 P.M. and turned northeastward in the direction of Springfield. Fifty minutes later he made a perfect landing before the crowd assembled along the edge of the Springfield field, and taxied across the turfed landing area to the mail trucks and officials waiting to mark the occasion with speeches and ceremonies.

Pilot Love departed from the St. Louis field in plane No. 111 after loading all of the St. Louis mail consigned to Springfield, Peoria and Chicago.²⁰ The third plane, piloted by Major C. R. Wassall, completed the St. Louis-Springfield segment of the northbound flight, but returned to Lambert-St. Louis Field when it was discovered that all of the Springfield mail could be fitted into the cargo compartments of the first two planes.

The official party greeted Lindbergh after he halted his plane in front of the mail trucks, set the motor at a slow idle, and stepped from the cockpit. Postmaster Conkling extended a formal greeting to the flying mailman:

Chief Pilot Lindbergh, you and your fellow pilots are now a part of the largest industrial enterprise in the whole world, through the veins of which the life blood of our business activities circulates. We are proud to have your association and with the utmost confidence in your loyalty [and] ability to serve the postal department and its patrons I am honored to deliver into your custody these precious souvenirs from the home of Abraham Lincoln. I know full well that they will be delivered to the end of your journey safely.²¹

After the arrival of the second plane, Lindbergh and Love were presented with commemorative medallions through the courtesy of the Illinois Watch Company. Fred Morgan, representing the company, made the presentation to the fliers, and turned over a third medallion to Postmaster Conkling to be presented to another of the air mail pilots at a later date. These souvenir medallions were about two and one-half inches

²⁰ *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 16, 1926; *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1926.

²¹ *Illinois State Register*, April 16, 1926.

in diameter, with an embossed picture of Lincoln and the dates 1809-1865 on one side, and on the reverse the inscription, "Inaugurating Air Mail Service, Springfield, Illinois, April 15, 1926," and the name of the pilot.²²

The two planes were loaded as soon as the brief ceremony ended. Then each pilot taxied, in turn, to the end of the field and with powerful Liberty engines thundering a deafening blast over the spectators, lifted the machines into the air on the second portion of the flight.

The three inauguration flights—one plane in the morning, and two in the afternoon—carried from Springfield a total of 413 pounds of mail, or approximately 19,000 pieces. On the early morning southbound flight, Lindbergh carried from the city two pouches weighing, together, 98 pounds and containing an estimated 3,727 pieces of mail for St. Louis.²³ The two planes on the afternoon trip picked up nine pouches of mail. A single pouch, weighing 17 pounds contained approximately 640 pieces for Peoria. The eight pouches for Chicago comprising an estimated 14,630 pieces, weighed 315 pounds.²⁴

The volume of mail dispatched from Springfield on April 15 shattered the record for first day flights from any American city. Nearly nineteen thousand pieces of mail represented a tremendous exhibition of faith in the new service. Credit for this fine showing rightfully belonged to the residents of Springfield, but the credit for the "municipal" airport and creation of air mail services in the city was shared jointly by Postmaster Conkling, the post office staff, the Chamber of Commerce, and civic clubs and organizations.

The respect and gratitude due these postal workers and civic leaders was ably pointed out in a letter from Postmaster General Harry S. New congratulating Postmaster Conkling and the postal affairs committee of the Chamber of Commerce

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*; *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1926.

²⁴ *Illinois State Register*, April 16, 1926; *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1926.

for the decisive part they played in the establishment of air mail service in Springfield:

I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations on the first flight of the Air Mail between St. Louis and Chicago, via Springfield, Ill.

Indeed you must feel greatly pleased in the large part you have played in having the service established between the cities of Springfield, Chicago, and St. Louis.²⁵

The opening of C.A.M. No. 2 added another link to the air mail system of the nation. The 278-mile route from St. Louis to Chicago via Springfield and Peoria gave the three service points, outside of Chicago, a direct connection with the transcontinental air mail route operated by the Post Office Department; with Detroit and Cleveland, over the air mail routes contracted by the Ford Air Transport; and with the route projected by National Air Transport, Inc., between Chicago and Dallas, opened on May 12, 1926. At that time the Post Office Department had already awarded contracts for two other routes serving Chicago: one extending to St. Paul-Minneapolis, via Milwaukee and La Crosse, Wisconsin; and another extending to Atlanta via Nashville and Birmingham.²⁶

The schedule over C.A.M. No. 2 was arranged to make connection with the overnight mail planes between New York and Chicago. Northbound mail left St. Louis at 4:00 P.M., Springfield at 5:05 P.M., Peoria at 5:55 P.M., and arrived in Chicago at 7:15 in time to be placed aboard the plane leaving for New York.²⁷ A letter addressed to New York City and deposited in the Springfield post office before 4:30 P.M., in time to be processed and transported to the air field to meet the evening flight, arrived at its destination in time to be sent out on the first carrier delivery the following morning. The mail plane leaving New York at 9:40 P.M., arrived in Chicago shortly before the southbound flight left over C.A.M. No. 2

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1926.

²⁶ W. Irving Glover, "Air Mail Service: Air Mail Development Stimulates Civil Air Development," *Aviation* (April 5, 1926), XX: 488-89.

²⁷ *Official Postal Guide Supplement*, Vol. 5 (Washington, May, 1926), 7.

for St. Louis. Thus a letter mailed from New York City and addressed to a Springfield resident, if mailed in time to be placed aboard the plane leaving at 9:40 P.M., arrived in Chicago early the following morning. There the letter would be transferred to the waiting plane of Robertson Aircraft scheduled to leave at 5:50 A.M., and flown to Springfield, where it arrived at 8:15 A.M. in time for an early morning carrier delivery.²⁸

One business day could be saved in delivery of air mail over rail transportation on letters between Springfield and New York City. For letters sent or received from the Pacific Coast the time saved was even greater.

In spite of the advantages offered by the air mail service, interest declined after the first day's heavy loads, expanded with letters of souvenir hunters and first-day cover collectors. Springfield residents turned once again to the routine of daily life. For the average citizen air mail offered little saving in time, and was seldom worth the extra cost of postage.²⁹ In place of eleven pouches containing thousands of letters, the two daily flights through Springfield picked up or delivered only limp, nearly empty mail sacks.

Transporting the mails yielded scant profits in 1926. Without profits the contractor could not invest in better flying equipment, purchase and install beacons for night flying, or provide the intermediate airports with fully adequate lighting systems.³⁰ The De Haviland planes used by the Robertson corporation during its first year of operations were purchased from army salvage and rebuilt in the company's shops in St. Louis. The D.H., as it was known to most people, had been

²⁸ *Ibid.*; Lindbergh, "We", 173.

²⁹ The postage rate on contract air mail was fixed at 10 cents per ounce or fraction thereof, on routes not more than 1,000 miles in length. An additional five cents was charged for each zone or part of a zone, that a letter was carried on the government's transcontinental route. *Official Postal Guide Supplement*, Vol. 5 (Washington, April, 1926), 9. A letter could be sent from Springfield to New York City by air mail for 15 cents per ounce or fraction thereof.

³⁰ For a brief account of the problems faced by both the operator and the pilot see Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Spirit of St. Louis* (New York, 1953), 3-14.

originally built during the war as a bombing and observation plane. For air mail service these planes were partially rebuilt and modified to meet specific requirements not comprehended by the designer. The forward cockpit was enclosed to form a compartment for mail pouches, and the pilot moved to the rear cockpit where the observer-gunner sat in wartime. Flood-lights were mounted on the wing tips to facilitate landings on unlighted fields at night. For emergencies the plane was equipped with parachute flares which, when released by the pilot, lighted a large radius for nearly two minutes.

Intermediate airports on C.A.M. No. 2 were extremely small and in poor condition, with inadequate lights and few repair and maintenance facilities. The pilot of a D.H. mail plane encountered serious difficulties when trying to land on the small fields at Peoria or Springfield in daylight, but after dark the task became doubly difficult. Without wheel brakes on the cumbersome planes, landings and take-offs were especially troublesome in small areas. When the route was first opened both daily flights were started and completed in daylight. However, in mid-winter darkness set in a few minutes after the pilot ascended from Lambert Field for the north-bound afternoon flight and the hazards increased.³¹

Even with inadequate equipment, unlighted airways and poor landing facilities, the air mail service over C.A.M. No. 2 marked up a creditable record during the first nine months of operation. Between April 15 and December 31, 1926, the Robertson Aircraft Corporation completed 376 flights totaling 104,528 miles. Only 25 flights were delayed, all because of adverse weather, and only eight flights were defaulted—again because of weather conditions. Lindbergh bailed out of his mail plane twice during that period. On both occasions he could not penetrate the dense fog over the Maywood field and had to abandon his ship because of empty fuel tanks.³² On

³¹ Lindbergh, "We," 175.

³² Charles A. Lindbergh, "And Then I Jumped," *The Saturday Evening Post*, July 23, 1927, pp. 59-60; "We," 179, 191.

six other occasions the flights were halted in Peoria or Springfield and the mail forwarded by train when the pilot had to sit out a heavy fog or storm.³³

Flying the mail soon became a routine affair to the pilots, but to some people on the ground each flight was a unique thrill. The writer witnessed many flights of mail planes in and out of Springfield during those early days. On one occasion during the first winter after the route was opened, Lindbergh stopped at the Springfield field and remained overnight when storm conditions prevented continuation of the flight. The following morning a small group of people turned out to help him start the big Liberty engine of his plane. First, he heated water and filled the radiator with it in order to make the engine turn over with greater ease. Even then, the combined efforts of three men were required to swing the huge wooden propeller. When Lindbergh shouted "contact" we pulled away at the blade "crack-the-whip" style. After several attempts, the engine commenced to sputter feebly and then came to life with a deep roar. Several minutes later he taxied to the end of the field, opened the throttle of the 400-horsepower engine, and quickly lifted the big plane into the air.

With the passage of years the airlines grew into gigantic business enterprises with little resemblance to the fledgling lines of 1926. Robertson Aircraft Corporation vanished from sight as it became lost in the intricate mergers and consolidations that brought forth the present-day American Airlines. The old D.H. biplanes were scrapped to make way for improved aircraft, and with the development of the airliner passengers and freight replaced mail as the principal source of business for air transport companies. And the air mail pilot, too, passed into history.³⁴

³³ Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, *Aircraft Year Book*, 1927, (New York, 1927), 27.

³⁴ The writer gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Howard Lee Scamehorn, graduate student of the University of Illinois, who is preparing a history of fifty years of powered flight in Illinois for the State Department of Aeronautics.

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS: 1824-1835

BY MERTON LYNN DILLON

THE proposal made in 1823 to call a state constitutional convention precipitated a full-scale antislavery movement in Illinois. Since it was popularly believed that the purpose of holding the convention was to legalize slavery in the state, the months before the vote on the question witnessed an intensive and searching discussion of the merits of Negro slavery. Practically every religious, moral, economic and political argument that was ever to be presented against that institution was heard during those years. Antislavery pamphlets and antislavery newspapers were printed; antislavery sermons were delivered and antislavery societies established; eventually the antislavery forces were organizing for direct political action, not only to prevent alteration of the state constitution but also to elect antislavery men to public office.

All of this agitation was vigorous, widespread and effective; but however critical men at that time were of slavery, their avowed purpose was not so much to destroy slavery in the United States as it was to prevent the extension of the slave system into Illinois. On August 2, 1824, the voters by a

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majority of 1,668 votes decided that the constitution of 1818 should not be revised.¹ For most people in Illinois that vote settled the matter. Having prevented an alteration in their constitution, they ceased their agitation against slavery. Although a letter appearing in the *Edwardsville Spectator* three months later urged Governor Edward Coles to continue to press for the total abolition of the slavery and indentured servitude already existing within the state,² and the Baptist Friends of Humanity in their circular address of 1824 warned that "there is still a great deal more to do,"³ the political leaders in Illinois took little aggressive action against slavery during the next decade.

To be sure, Governor Coles—though quite without success—continued his efforts to abolish the state's indenture system by which Negroes were bound to labor for periods far exceeding the normal life span of a human being. His messages of November 16, 1824 and December 5, 1826⁴ were ignored. Indeed, the General Assembly appeared to be solidly in favor of retaining the current conditions regarding slavery and indentured servitude. The antislavery bloc which had existed in the Assembly in the years immediately before 1824 had practically disappeared as an effective force two years later. In the Assembly elections of 1826, such stalwart anticonventionists as Jacob Ogle, John Messinger, Daniel Stookey, William H. Bradsby, Daniel Parker, Moses Lemen and Augustus Collins were defeated.⁵ The most active of the anticonventionists withdrew from public life. Hooper Warren sold the antislavery *Edwardsville Spectator* and moved north to sparsely settled Sangamon County, where his influence was small in-

¹ Theodore C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 27. The vote was 6,640 to 4,972.

² *Edwardsville Spectator*, Nov. 2, 1824.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1824.

⁴ *Journal of the Senate of the Fourth General Assembly of Illinois, 1824*, 1st sess. (Vandalia, 1824), 16; *ibid.*, 1826, pp. 21-22.

⁵ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 219-20, 226-27.

deed.⁶ Morris Birkbeck, the antislavery pamphleteer, was drowned in 1825 while fording a river on his way home to Wanborough from a visit with Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana.⁷ Governor Coles, in view of the antipathy he had aroused among his powerful political opponents, could do little else than retire from public life.⁸ A declining interest in slavery was evident even among the Baptist Friends of Humanity, the only religious sect in Illinois which had thus far taken a united stand against it. After 1826, their energies were diverted to other reforms and to other religious interests.⁹

But the citizens of Illinois were not quite so uniformly unconcerned about slavery during the decade following the convention controversy as the record of their official bodies might indicate. Although the crusading drive against slavery was notably lacking from 1824 to 1835, the issue was at no time lost sight of nor did opposition to the continued existence of slavery completely disappear. The nature of the population made that impossible. Many persons had come to Illinois even before 1824 specifically because they wished to escape from a slave society.¹⁰ It was not to be expected that they should have welcomed proposals to make Illinois a slave state in 1824 or, after having defeated those plans, that they should have completely ignored the fact that slavery still existed.

The Presbyterians of Shoal Creek in Bond County, who

⁶ Warren to Ninian Edwards, March 24, 1828, Elihu B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers* (*Chicago Historical Society Collections*, III, Chicago, 1884), 330.

⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁸ Coles was considered a candidate for the Senate in 1826, but lost to Elias Kent Kane. Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, II, Chicago, 1919), 124-25. In 1831 he ran for representative in Congress and lost to Joseph Duncan, receiving but 14 per cent of the votes cast. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 70-73.

⁹ William Warren Sweet, ed., *The Baptists, 1783-1830 (Religion on the American Frontier*, I, New York, 1931), 99-101.

¹⁰ Arthur C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830* (*Chicago Historical Society Collections*, V, Chicago, 1908), 91-92; W. P. Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1857), 168; James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832* (Cincinnati, 1883), 31; *Edwardsville Spectator*, April 12, 1823; *Western Citizen* [Chicago], Dec. 30, 1842; Carrie P. Kofoid, *Puritan Influences in the Formative Years of Illinois History* (Springfield, 1906), 25.

in 1824 had opposed the movement to amend the state constitution,¹¹ had migrated to Illinois from South Carolina after a period of living among antislavery groups in Ohio.¹² By 1831, they were issuing violent denunciations of slavery and of the Presbyterian Church for failing to take a determined stand against it.¹³ By 1835, one of their number, William M. Stewart, was included among the foremost abolitionists in the state, if not in the nation.¹⁴

Methodist circuit riders, many of whom had but recently arrived from slave states, continued to present their listeners with charges of the iniquities of slavery much as their colleagues had done during the convention controversy.¹⁵ The Rev. Peter Cartwright, the best known of all early Illinois preachers, came to the state in 1824 from the South to escape from slavery.¹⁶ In 1825, the Rev. George Locke was transferred from the Kentucky Conference to the Illinois Conference because of his dislike for slavery.¹⁷ The Rev. Jesse Haile of Tennessee, who preached in Illinois intermittently before 1827 and regularly after that time, was a reader of the anti-slavery *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and distributed that journal in the South when he took a trip to Texas.¹⁸ In 1831, the Rev. John Sinclair, a circuit rider in the Kentucky Conference, asked to be transferred to Illinois in order to live in a free state.¹⁹ Many Methodists in Illinois in the years after 1824 must, therefore, have listened to men like the Rev. Peter Axley, who is said often to have preached in Illinois against the "trin-

¹¹ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 27.

¹² Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), 41.

¹³ *Illinois Intelligencer* [Vandalia], Feb. 19, 1831.

¹⁴ See his speech to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the *Liberator*, June 7, 1835.

¹⁵ For Methodist circuit rider activity in 1823, see *Illinois Intelligencer*, July 5, Aug. 23, 1823.

¹⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹⁷ Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois*, 284-85.

¹⁸ Thomas Earle, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (Philadelphia, 1847), 244.

¹⁹ Stephen R. Beggs, *Pages from the Early History of the West and North-west* (Cincinnati, 1868), 306-7.

ity of devils"—"superfluous dress, whisky, and slavery."²⁰

The effect of antislavery preaching on Methodist laymen during this period of supposed apathy on the question of slavery was sufficient to make them so sensitive to the subject that the introduction of the issue of slavery into political campaigns was sometimes urged in order to sway Methodist votes.²¹ It is true that the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church long remained noncommittal on the subject, and that the internal harmony of the Methodist churches in Illinois was never seriously disturbed by discussions of the merits of slavery. But not even the rather conservative Illinois Conference could altogether avoid the complications produced by slavery; nor could it remain totally unaffected by the all-pervading influence of the developing cleavage between the free and the slave states.

In the session of the Illinois Conference held in Edwardsville in October, 1828, the subject of co-operating with the Missouri Annual Conference in establishing a Methodist seminary for the West was considered. The arrangement committee appointed by the Illinois Conference was composed of John Dew, Peter Cartwright and John Strange, of whom the first two are known to have possessed antislavery sentiments.²² The two conferences having agreed on a plan of operation, two sites were suggested for the seminary: Lebanon, in northeastern St. Clair County in Illinois, and Mount Salubria, a village in Missouri. When the vote on selecting the site was taken, it was found that Mount Salubria had been chosen. The Illinois Conference then voted to reconsider the favorable report of the joint committee, which it had previously approved, recommending co-operation with the Missouri Conference.

²⁰ *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, 95.

²¹ Ninian Edwards to Cyrus and Benjamin Edwards, July 15, 1830, Washburne, *Edwards Papers*, 530-31.

²² *African Repository and Colonial Journal* [Washington, D. C.], IX (1833-1834), 217; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

It now refused to adopt the proposed plan.²³ According to an early historian of the Methodist Church of Illinois, this procedure was prompted by the unwillingness of the Illinois Methodists to support a seminary located in a slave state. Peter Cartwright is said to have declared, in what must for him have been the ultimate expression of disapproval, that he would rather send his children to a Calvinistic school than to one in a slave state.²⁴

Not only did people in Illinois feel impelled to continue their opposition to slavery in the abstract; to an increasing extent after 1824 they were aware of the problems arising from the presence in their own state of a by-product of the slave system, the free Negro. The census of 1820 recorded 457 free Negroes in Illinois. By 1830 their number had increased to 1,637, and by 1840 to 3,598.²⁵ Free Negroes were in constant peril of being kidnapped and returned to slavery in the South,²⁶ a fact as certain to arouse the sympathy of humanitarians as the very presence of the growing population of free Negroes was certain to arouse the misgivings of others. Given this situation, it was only natural that such active opposition to slavery as existed after the defeat of the convention proposal should have been absorbed in measures for colonizing free Negroes. Actually, however, interest in colonization was not a new development in Illinois. As early as 1817, a territorial newspaper had given publicity to the activities of a colonization society in the East;²⁷ and Daniel Pope Cook, Illinois' second representative to Congress, when speaking to a committee of the House of Representatives on the Missouri Compromise, had endorsed colonization societies as "sound" and emancipa-

²³ "The Journals of the Illinois Conference, 1824-1831" in William Warren Sweet, ed., *The Methodists, 1783-1840 (Religion on the American Frontier, IV, Chicago, 1946)*, 305-6, 311, 321, 326-27, 329, 333-34, 336.

²⁴ Leaton, *History of Methodism*, 306-7.

²⁵ *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D. C., 1853), 719.

²⁶ *Edwardsville Spectator*, Sept. 21, Oct. 12, 1822.

²⁷ *Western Intelligencer* [Kaskaskia], Jan. 15, 1817.

tion accompanied by colonization as the only proper solution to the racial problem in the United States.²⁸

Opposition to slavery in Illinois before 1835 was expressed in a colonization movement, but sentiment for Negro colonization, as is well known, is not always to be equated with sentiment against slavery itself.²⁹ Prejudice against free Negroes was high in Illinois and was a powerful motive working in favor of colonization. One of the reasons William Bradsby had given in the Illinois territorial legislature in 1817 for advocating the repeal of the indenture laws was that he wished to prevent the accumulation of free Negroes in Illinois which he believed must result from that "cob web of legislation."³⁰ The suggestion that free Negroes be sent out of the United States also attracted the interest of many of the men who had been devoted opponents of the convention.³¹

The attempt to introduce slavery into Illinois in 1824 had been resisted for a variety of reasons. Among the most powerful had been the belief that slavery was contrary to the law of God and to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. But mingled with that conviction had been a genuine distrust of the Negro race. One of the strongest arguments used against extending slavery to Illinois had been that the slave population of the United States must in the fullness of time rise in revolt against its white masters. Morris Birkbeck's distrust of Negroes arose from his belief that they were depraved and dangerous. He attributed their evil character, however, to the fact that they lived in a state of slavery.³² Some persons, on the other hand, assumed that Negroes were inherently inferior to members of the white race and therefore constituted a menace to the society of the United States.

²⁸ *Edwardsville Spectator*, May 16, 1820.

²⁹ The most vigorous modern indictment of the colonization movement is in Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939), 10-20.

³⁰ *Western Intelligencer*, Dec. 18, 1817.

³¹ *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 19, 1831; *Illinois Advocate* [Vandalia], Jan. 19, 1833.

³² *Edwardsville Spectator*, Nov. 8, 1823.

Such racial prejudice continued to operate in the General Assembly. Early in 1829, that body passed a law designed to prevent the further settlement of free Negroes in the state. The committee in the senate which considered the bill recognized slavery to be a "national calamity, and slavery in any form as contrary to the genius of our government." It also reported, however, that the residence of Negroes in Illinois even when they were controlled as slaves was "productive of moral and political evil," and free Negroes the committee considered to be still "more objectionable." "The natural difference between them and ourselves," the committee continued, "forbids the idea that they should ever be permitted to participate with us in the political affairs of our government." It therefore recommended that means be found to free all of the slaves in the country and transport them to Africa.³³

One group of men in Illinois, then, favored colonization because it would rid the country of an undesirable racial element. Another group, however, regarded colonization as a means of extending humanitarian aid to an unfortunate part of the population. Indeed, so far as such people were concerned, the colonization phase of the antislavery movement had its origin in the same benevolent, religious spirit which had prompted the clergy and church members to work in opposition to the convention proposal in 1823 and 1824. In the 1826 circular letter of the Friends of Humanity, the Rev. George Clark was enthusiastic about colonization. This approval was clearly associated with a genuine hatred of slavery. His deep moral convictions on the subject could not be altered by any apology or justification the slave owner might offer. Dismissing as the most blatant hypocrisy all statements made by church members that they treated their slaves well, worked them moderately, and neither bought nor sold them, he insisted that the laws of God required not merely the kind treat-

³³ *Journal of the Illinois Senate, 1828 (Kaskaskia, 1829)*, 182-83.

ment of slaves but rather the complete abandonment of slavery.³⁴

These two beliefs—(1) that slavery was an iniquitous system by which human beings had been wronged and corrupted and (2) that the nature of Negroes made them a dangerous element in the population—led to proposals in Illinois that the Negroes of the United States be returned to Africa.

The humanitarians' approval of colonization was ordinarily given only upon the condition that colonization be voluntary.³⁵ In contrast, those persons who hated free Negroes simply because they were Negroes were quite willing to support compulsory deportation. Probably few persons in the 1820's recognized that the colonization of free Negroes might be operating as a means of safeguarding slavery; yet some men in Illinois at an early date concluded that the colonization of the Negro population was perhaps not the most humane method of solving the problems of slavery. On December 9, 1824, the resolutions of the Ohio legislature recommending to the states and Congress a system of emancipation by which freedom would be granted to all slaves at the age of twenty-one upon the condition that they accept transportation to Africa were reported in the Illinois House of Representatives. Risdon Moore, Sr., speaking for the committee which had considered the Ohio plan, stated that deeply as the committee lamented the existence of slavery and anxious as its members were to effect emancipation they were not willing to approve Ohio's plan of compulsory colonization. It seemed unreasonable to them to impose upon the persons to be emancipated the condition that they consent to be transported to Africa in order to enjoy their freedom. "This at best," wrote Moore, "would seem to be a bad alternative." The committee was

³⁴ Sweet, *The Baptists, 1783-8130*, pp. 595-96. See also address by Benjamin Bond to the Clinton County Colonization Society in *Illinois Advocate*, July 20, 1833.

³⁵ *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 19, 1831; *Illinois Gazette* [Shawneetown], Sept. 4, 1830.

"induced to believe that slavery at home would often be preferred to freedom in an unknown and foreign land."³⁶

The same sympathies and fears which operated in Illinois had led to the organization of the American Colonization Society in Washington in the winter of 1816-1817.³⁷ Although the society was eventually to be active in Illinois, the first attempt on the part of a resident of Illinois actually to colonize Negroes was made independently of the national society by George Flower, an immigrant from England.

Flower, one of the founders of the English settlement in Edwards County, was much concerned about the existence of slavery and the problems of the free Negro. As early as 1819, he considered forming a communitarian society modeled on that of the Rappites of New Harmony, Indiana, for the purpose of freeing slaves and employing free Negroes.³⁸ He was able to carry out his plans at least to the extent of settling some free Negroes on his farm in Edwards County, but opposition to his scheme was so prevalent and the danger of kidnapping of the Negroes so great that he persuaded them to leave Illinois and settle in Haiti. Flower obtained the approval of the President of Haiti for his plan, and on June 8, 1823, the Negroes arrived in Haiti where they were established on a plantation.³⁹ Letters from Flower's Haitian colony were later printed in the *Illinois Gazette* with a view to encouraging the colonization of other free Negroes in the same place.⁴⁰

The impetus for Flower's second plan for the emancipation of slaves came indirectly from Robert Owen's colony at New Harmony through the person of Frances Wright, who

³⁶ *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1824* (Vandalia, 1824), 97-98.

³⁷ Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1919), 46-50.

³⁸ William Faux, *Memorable Days in America* (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* . . . , XI, Cleveland, 1905), 259.

³⁹ George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois . . .* (*Chicago Historical Society Collections*, I, Chicago, 1882), 265-69.

⁴⁰ *Illinois Gazette*, Aug. 7, 1824. In the *Edwardsville Spectator* of Dec. 7, 1822, Flower had given publicity to the advantages of Haiti for Negro colonization.

consulted with Flower on the subject at his home. The trustees of the venture were to buy slaves who would work on the lands of the colony at Nashoba in Tennessee until they had repaid their purchase price, at which time they would be freed. George Flower did not remain resident at the colony, but he retained his connection as trustee at least as late as February 1, 1827.⁴¹ The Nashoba colony was soon transformed by Miss Wright from being simply a means of freeing slaves into an experiment designed to provide not merely emancipation for slaves but religious and sexual emancipation for whites as well. As such it failed. In 1830 she acknowledged the collapse of the scheme by taking the Negroes still living at Nashoba to Haiti.⁴²

The first Illinois experiments in freeing slaves had obviously been of little success. The more orthodox plans of the American Colonization Society had yet to be tried. The first auxiliary to the national society to be formed in the area was organized at St. Louis in 1825 by the Rev. Salmon Giddings of St. Louis and the Rev. John Mason Peck of Illinois.⁴³ The St. Louis society was evidently designed to operate in both Missouri and Illinois, for John Mason Peck, then living at Rock Spring in St. Clair County, Illinois, was appointed its agent and representative to the parent society, and Governor Edward Coles was chosen as one of its four vice-presidents.⁴⁴ It is uncertain, however, what activities, if any, the society carried on within Illinois.

Even though colonization continued to receive favorable notice in Illinois, no formal colonization society was organized within the state until 1830. No agent for Illinois was

⁴¹ *New-Harmony Gazette* [New Harmony, Ind.], II (1827), 173, 215.

⁴² Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias* (Philadelphia, 1950), 219-26.

⁴³ Communication from Peck, Feb. 8, 1856, in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen . . . to the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-five*, 9 vols. (New York, 1859-1869), IV: 508; *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, II (1826-1827), 120.

⁴⁴ Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1864), 210-11; *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, II (1826-1827), 63.

provided by the American Colonization Society until the appointment of Josiah F. Polk on July 29, 1829, as agent for Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee and Alabama. Polk made a ten-month tour of the West in 1829-1830 and established state societies in Indiana, Tennessee and Alabama, but he failed to reach Illinois.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the society was not completely lacking in representation in the state. Edward Coles was acting as an informal agent and during the first quarter of 1829 collected \$168 in Illinois for the use of the national society.⁴⁶

In 1830, Cyrus Edwards, brother of ex-governor Ninian Edwards, was formally commissioned agent for Illinois. He called a meeting of the citizens of Madison County on July 3, and after explaining the plans of the American Colonization Society to the twenty persons who attended, he organized them into the Madison County Colonization Society, the first in Illinois. Shortly afterward, he assisted in forming the Lebanon Colonization Society of St. Clair County. He then began a tour of the state for the purpose of furthering the cause of colonization. At Belleville in St. Clair County his plans for forming a society were defeated by "the unkind imputations of a prominent individual," but he was listened to by an otherwise sympathetic audience. At Waterloo in Monroe County he spoke on the subject of colonization and developed what he called a "plan of operations" but did not attempt to form a society. He was successful also in forming organizations in Randolph, Clinton, Morgan, Sangamon and Greene counties. Although he met with positive opposition only in Belleville, he reported that there was "much of chilling indifference to encounter." The society could not expect, he said, to receive much in contributions because of the state's sparse population and limited resources.⁴⁷

Cyrus Edwards' crowning achievement as agent was the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VI (1830-1831), 71-72, 74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV (1828-1829), 383.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VII (1831-1832), 114-15; *The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal* [New York], III, (1830-1831), 159.

formation in Vandalia on December 9, 1830, of the Illinois State Colonization Society.⁴⁸ In his address at the statehouse preceding the organization of the society, he described the "dangerous and baneful influence on all around them" of free Negroes. The motive for colonization, as he saw it, was to rid the state of a hopelessly inferior people. "No matter how great their industry," he told his audience, "or how abundant their wealth—no matter what their attainments in literature, science or the arts—no matter how correct their deportment or what respect their characters may inspire, they can never, *no, never* be raised to a footing of equality, not even to a familiar intercourse with the surrounding society!" Of the plan of immediate abolition, which apparently was already being discussed in Illinois, he said, "No wild dream of the wildest enthusiast was ever more extravagant than that of turning loose upon society two millions of blacks, idle and therefore worthless, vicious and therefore dangerous, ignorant and therefore incapable of appreciating and enjoying the blessings of freedom." His appeal was obviously based on racial prejudice and notions of the biological inferiority of the Negro race, but that was not his only argument. Illinois, he said, should support the American Colonization Society for benevolent reasons. Its operations would spread civilization to Africa; more than that, Africa would thereby become both a source of supply and a market for American industry.⁴⁹ These varied arguments were compelling enough and resulted in the formation of the Illinois State Colonization Society, whose officers included many of the most prominent men in the state.⁵⁰

Edwards had formed a network of societies in seven counties plus a state society for co-ordinating the work of all.

⁴⁸ *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 19, 1831.

⁴⁹ *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, VII (1831-1832), 97-109.

⁵⁰ According to the *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 19, 1831, members included Samuel D. Lockwood, of the Illinois Supreme Court; James Hall, editor of the *Illinois Intelligencer*; Henry Eddy, editor of the *Illinois Gazette*; Joseph Duncan, soon to be governor; A. F. Hubbard, lieutenant governor; Ninian Edwards and Edward Coles, both former governors.

He had apparently created the framework for an effective humanitarian movement; yet almost as soon as he had withdrawn from the field as agent, his organization collapsed. Although in 1831 the Rev. John M. Ellis of Jacksonville, an agent of the American Home Missionary Society, referred to the colonization society of Morgan County as the "most popular society we have,"⁵¹ the situation seems to have been otherwise with the societies Edwards had established elsewhere. When the Rev. James Latta of the Methodist Church was appointed as the American Colonization Society's agent for Illinois late in 1832, he found that many of the societies formed by his predecessor only two years before had ceased to operate. Latta attributed their failure to a lack of popular interest in the project, but he suggested an additional factor in their decline when he reported that he himself had been hindered in beginning his work as agent by the Black Hawk War and a depression during the spring of 1832 which, taken together, had made it impracticable "to say anything on the subject."⁵²

He began his agency in earnest in 1833. His first task was to revive the state society. At its January meeting it resumed its work by agreeing to subscribe \$100 for ten years to aid in carrying out the plan of Gerrit Smith of New York for transporting Negroes to Africa. Latta organized a new society at Greenville in Bond County. At Carlyle in Clinton County, he revived the society which Edwards had started. He was successful also in re-establishing the lapsed society at Lebanon in St. Clair County. At Belleville, where Edwards had encountered opposition, Latta was able to organize a society with no less a dignitary than Governor John Reynolds as president. He formed other societies in Waterloo, Monroe County; Salem, Marion County; and in Hillsboro, Montgomery County. His efforts were unsuccessful in Macoupin, Macoupin County; in Alton, Madison County; and in Nashville, Wash-

⁵¹ *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, IV (1831-1832), 84.

⁵² *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, IX (1833-1834), 24, 125.

ington County. In those places, he left the actual formation to others who were instructed to act when the time seemed more propitious.⁵³

Latta reported that he found nearly all ministers favorable to the work of the colonization societies and that most of them had agreed to take collections in their churches on July 4 for the furtherance of the work.⁵⁴ Obviously the churches were identifying colonization with the other major reform movements of the day to which they also gave their support. Members of the three major denominations in Illinois—Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians—approved of colonization at this time. One of the churches officially endorsed it: the Presbytery of Illinois at its meeting of September 18, 1833, passed a resolution expressing its "high approval" of the American Colonization Society and recommended that member churches offer that society their prayers, co-operation, and financial contributions.⁵⁵ When the Randolph County Colonization Society was organized at Kaskaskia on August 18, 1830, it listed four ministers among its members.⁵⁶ The Rev. John Brich, a Presbyterian, bequeathed five hundred dollars to the American Colonization Society when he died in 1836; Charles R. Matheny, an active Methodist and former circuit rider and an opponent of the convention in 1823-1824, was elected president of the Sangamon County Colonization Society in 1833; the Rev. Thomas Lippincott, a Presbyterian who was later to become a fervent abolitionist, was made a life member of the American Colonization Society in 1832.⁵⁷

Although soon after 1830 it was recognized by some people in Illinois that support of colonization represented a safe

⁵³ Latta's complete report, *ibid.*, 125-26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁵ Minutes of the Presbytery of Illinois, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, II: 69-70.

⁵⁶ *Illinois Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1830.

⁵⁷ Charles G. Davis, "The Reverend John Brich, His Life and Tragic Death," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXVIII (June, 1945), 236. The bequest was never fulfilled because of legal technicalities. Paul M. Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*": *A History of Lincoln's Springfield, 1821-1865* (Springfield, 1935), 52; *Alton Spectator*, Feb. 27, 1832.

alternative to abolition,⁵⁸ the colonization societies at their formation were not at all the declared foes of abolition which they were to become when antislavery societies were formed in Illinois after 1835. Since people like Thomas Mather, Thomas Lippincott, David Blackwell, Edward Coles, William H. Brown, Moses Lemen and Peter Cartwright, all of whom are known to have been sincerely opposed to slavery, belonged to the colonization societies of Illinois at this period,⁵⁹ one must conclude that colonization was viewed by many men in Illinois as a sincere effort to benefit those free Negroes who wished to leave a country which had no place for them. Neither the doubts which Daniel Pope Cook had expressed in 1820 over the sincerity of certain Southern advocates of colonization nor the disappointment which Benjamin Lundy had experienced from the inconsistency of such prominent colonizationists as Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay and Charles F. Mercer was shared by many people in Illinois, even though the views of both Cook and Lundy were given publicity in the state.⁶⁰

Even as late as 1831, the American Colonization Society was not generally recognized in Illinois as being a hindrance rather than a help to emancipation. A meeting of the Shoal Creek Presbyterian Church of Bond County on January 29, 1831, which declared slavery to be "a scandal to the Presbyterian Church" and inconsistent with both Christianity and republicanism, also heard an address by the Rev. Solomon Hardy on the progress of the American Colonization Society.⁶¹ On July 4, 1833, Benjamin Bond delivered to the recently formed Carlyle Colonization Society in Clinton County an address which would not have been much out of place at an abolitionist meeting. He declared that slavery was not only

⁵⁸ *Alton Spectator*, May 11, 1832, expressed approval of colonization and wrote against "incendiary" publications by abolitionists. See also *Illinois Intelligencer*, March 19, 1831, and letter from "a distinguished Baptist clergyman in Illinois" (probably John M. Peck) in *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, IX (1833-1834), 349.

⁵⁹ *Illinois Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1830; *Illinois Advocate*, Jan. 19, 1833.

⁶⁰ *Edwardsville Spectator*, May 16, 1820, Dec. 11, 1821.

⁶¹ *Illinois Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831.

unjust but that it was also illegal and had no basis in law. The institution of slavery seemed to him incompatible with the doctrines of the American Revolution: "Can we who have solemnly declared 'that all men are created equal . . .,' be unmindful of the injuries wrought in our land to a portion of Adam's long line of posterity?"⁶²

The first reaction of the more earnest members of colonization societies in Illinois to criticism from the abolitionists of the East was one of hurt dismay. The Rev. John Dew of the Methodist Church presented to the Waterloo Colonization Society in Monroe County resolutions which were passed unanimously "That this Society view with deep and solemn concern and with painful regret the opposition raised to the American Colonization Society by the . . . Abolition Societies of the Eastern States—and that this organized opposition . . . should only serve to arouse its friends to more bold and vigorous efforts in its support."⁶³

Despite this brave statement, interest in colonization declined rapidly in Illinois after 1833; indeed, its efforts were never very "bold and vigorous." The tangible results of the movement during its first period of operation in Illinois were some small contributions to the parent society and the freeing of a very few slaves.⁶⁴ Colonization activity in Illinois never aroused sufficient enthusiasm to prevent the auxiliary societies from languishing whenever no agent was present to encourage the work. Probably no active colonization society existed in the state by the end of 1834,⁶⁵ and none was to be formed again until 1837 when the conservative element saw danger in the activities of the abolitionists. The initiative by then had passed from the colonizationists to the abolitionists, who sought to

⁶² *Illinois Advocate*, July 20, 1833.

⁶³ *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, IX (1833-1834), 217.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, IV (1828-1829), 383; VII (1831-1832), 31, 96, 350; VIII (1832-1833), 64, 351; IX (1833-1834), 126; X (1834), 288.

⁶⁵ John M. Peck to the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, Nov. 14, 1837, *ibid.*, XIII (1837), 379: "Circumstances . . . have called up our citizens to the subject of African Colonization; and an effort will be made to revive the cause, which, for three or four years, has been suffered to languish."

restore immediately the rights of the slave and to improve his condition while retaining him within the boundaries of the United States.

A lack of money seems to have contributed to the early failure of the colonization movement in Illinois. The colonization project, unlike the later abolitionist societies, required money to be effective. When by picturing the sufferings of the free Negro and the slave, it generated moral fervor, it channeled that fervor away toward what was essentially a side issue, rather than directing it against the institution which was the source of the suffering. Since not enough money was available in Illinois to make the colonization idea work, the moral reformers remained ineffective so long as their activity was limited to colonization.

The rise of the abolitionist phase of the antislavery movement in Illinois was made possible by an influx of new settlers from both North and South who thoroughly hated slavery and wished to see the system ended. They were not interested merely in extending aid to Negroes who suffered from racial prejudice. Many of these people possessed stern religious ideas which left them no easy alternatives when moral decisions were involved. For that reason few of them could become adherents of the colonization movement, and for that reason abolition doctrines which urgently required difficult moral action had for them a special appeal. It is obvious, however, that when they moved to Illinois they were not entering an area where antislavery doctrines were a novelty. Although little had been accomplished from 1824 to 1835 toward ending slavery, antislavery sentiment had been kept alive during those years among significant groups of the population who were aware of the problem but favored a less extreme manner of solving it than did the abolitionists. The ten-year period following the defeat of the convention proposal was, therefore, an important stage in the evolutionary development of the antislavery movement in Illinois.

CHICAGO IN 1833

Impressions of Three Britishers

BY DALLAS L. JONES

CHICAGO in 1833, the year it was organized as a village, has been very vividly described by three British writers—two of them travelers and the third an immigrant. The latter became a merchant and was one of the many such men who were instrumental in building the city to its present importance. About the middle of September that year two men of contrasting personalities arrived in Chicago on the same stage from Detroit. One, Charles J. Latrobe, was a wealthy English author who published a widely read book about his trip, *The Rambler in North America*.¹ Latrobe was visiting Detroit when he learned that a treaty with the Indians was to be negotiated at Chicago, and made the trip to witness the treaty making. The other traveler, Patrick Shirreff, a farmer from Mungos-wells, East Lothian, came to examine farm lands. A younger brother wished to emigrate, and Shirreff wanted to make certain that the project was feasible.² Of all the travelers to Illinois during this period, he exhibited the most common

¹ Charles J. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*, 2 vols. (London, 1835).

² Patrick Shirreff, *A Tour Through North America* (Edinburgh, 1835), i-ii.

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sense, and his *A Tour Through North America* gives an excellent picture of Illinois in 1833.

Latrobe and Shirreff arrived during the height of the negotiations with the Potawatomi,³ which had for their purpose the removal of all Indians to new territory west of the Mississippi. There were at least five thousand Indians encamped around the village,⁴ and Latrobe was extremely bitter concerning the lax policy of the United States government in allowing traders to sell whiskey to them. He felt that there was a "stigma" attached to dealing with drunken Indians and that a treaty made with them was neither honorable nor valid.⁵

Shirreff described the negotiations as a festival for the Indians at the expense of the government which provided all the food.⁶ Many of the Indians were intoxicated most of the time, and while under the influence of liquor were extremely noisy and talkative. Their "chief delight," reported Shirreff, "consisted in venting low shouts, resembling something between the mewing of a cat and the barking of a dog."⁷

The treaty was concluded on September 25, with the government securing the objectives it desired. The Indians were to be moved across the Mississippi to a new reservation of five million acres. In addition, they were to receive a million dollars for various purposes—education, agriculture, et cetera.⁸

Chicago was not regarded very highly by either Latrobe or Shirreff. Latrobe described it as an "upstart village," a "mushroom town,"⁹ while Shirreff was convinced that it would never be too important because other places in Illinois were more favorably located. He does mention, however, that Chicago was an important trading center at that time and would probably attain greater size and importance.¹⁰

³ Latrobe, *Rambler*, II: 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 156-57.

⁶ Shirreff, *Tour*, 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁸ Latrobe, *Rambler*, II: 159.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 149-50.

¹⁰ Shirreff, *Tour*, 226.

In 1833 Chicago consisted of about 150 wooden houses on both sides of the river, at whose mouth Fort Dearborn stood guard.¹¹ Its greatest handicap, according to both travellers, was the lack of a harbor, making it necessary for ships to anchor out in the open lake.¹² Within the village there was a great deal of activity. Latrobe called it a "chaos of mud, rubbish, and confusion. Frame and clapboard houses were springing up daily under the active axes and hammers of the speculators, and piles of lumber announced the preparation for yet other edifices of an equally light character."¹³

Although Shirreff did not often complain, he was very vociferous over the hotels in Chicago. He described the inn at which he stayed as "dirty in the extreme," crowded, and in a state of confusion. He slept one night on the floor.¹⁴ Latrobe was even more disturbed over these conditions.¹⁵

Latrobe was not greatly impressed by the residents of Chicago. He felt that the army officers were the most intelligent people in the village; but, although very hospitable, they were not refined. He believed that their lack of culture was the result of being transferred to frontier posts immediately upon their graduation from West Point.¹⁶ In addition to the army officers the permanent residents of Chicago included several storekeepers, one or two doctors, five or six hotelkeepers and a land agent.¹⁷ Besides the permanent residents there were many transients, including

horse-dealers, and horse-stealers,—rogues of every description, white, black, brown, and red—half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all, . . . men pursuing Indian claims sharpers of every degree; pedlars, grog-sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and Contractors to supply the Pottawattomies with food.¹⁸

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*; Latrobe, *Rambler*, II: 149-50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁴ Shirreff, *Tour*, 228-29.

¹⁵ Latrobe, *Rambler*, II: 154-55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 152-53.

Upon leaving Chicago Latrobe traveled by carriage to St. Louis—a journey that was made without incident. From there he went to the Falls of St. Anthony on the upper Mississippi. Because the trip over the "De Moyen Rapids" was considered too difficult he decided to go as far as Galena by carriage.¹⁹ His return to St. Louis was made by barge down the Mississippi.

When Latrobe left St. Louis on October 6, 1833 for Galena he went by way of Peoria, which he called a "wretched" town.²⁰ Along the entire route he found destruction and disease—the country was still suffering from the devastation of the Black Hawk War of the previous year. He gives a very vivid description of the farm houses along the way where the sleeping accommodations he encountered were not of the type to which he was accustomed. When Latrobe and his companions spent the night at one of these cabins they would sleep in one corner while the entire family slept in another in a "flock sack."²¹ The thing that impressed him most was his failure to find two people who would agree to the same version of any of the events of the war. He placed a large part of the blame for this situation upon the feud between the state militia and the regular Army.²² After some time in Prairie du Chien, Latrobe left on November 17 to return to St. Louis. On the trip down the Mississippi he spent a day at Fort Armstrong and was quite impressed by the fort and its location.²³ On the eastern bank of the Mississippi (the present site of Rock Island) there were a few scattered settlements, but for the most part there was nothing but wilderness. On the western bank (the present site of Davenport, Iowa) the Sac and Fox had their reservation.²⁴ At St. Louis, Latrobe left the Illinois country.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

²² *Ibid.*, 188.

²³ *Ibid.*, 235.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Shirreff spent most of his time in the southern portion of the state. He had intended to make the journey from Chicago to Alton by horseback, but when the horse dealers tried to cheat him, and when he missed the weekly stage, he decided to walk. He observed that the horse dealers in America "seemed versed in all the trickery which is practised by their profession in Britain."²⁵

Shirreff found the time spent in the solitary walk across the prairies the most enjoyable of his life. He had been warned by his friends in Canada not to make the trip alone because the country was a "pestilential swamp, inhabited by demi-savages and dangerous animals" and even if he escaped those dangers he would go insane in the wilderness. Instead, quite the reverse was true. He was awed by the beauty of the prairies and the wildlife that he found there—they were far more beautiful than any park he had seen in England.²⁶

The first town Shirreff visited after leaving Chicago was Ottawa, "a place of three or four houses."²⁷ From Ottawa he proceeded to Peoria, Pekin, Springfield, Jacksonville, and finally to Alton. Peoria was unimpressive, a village that "exhibits marks of considerable age, but none of prosperity." Pekin on the other hand was a progressive village.²⁸

Shirreff was impressed with Springfield, a town of about 1,200 people. He was amazed by the high productivity of the soil of the surrounding farm land—soil that did not need fertilizer. To add to the attractiveness of this location, he observed seams of coal in the vicinity.²⁹ He gives an interesting survey of wages and prices at Springfield in 1833. Because labor was scarce a good farm hand received \$120 a year and an "indifferent" one \$100 "with bed and board." A woman servant at the hotel received \$2.00 a week in cash. Meals and

²⁵ Shirreff, *Tour*, 228.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 244.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 234.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 238.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 247.

lodging for short periods cost \$3.00 a week and for long periods \$2.50. Butter in the Springfield market was worth eight cents a pound and eggs sold at six cents a dozen. Beef sold for three cents a pound and pork for two cents. Wheat was thirty-seven and a half cents a bushel, oats eighteen and Indian corn ten.³⁰ Shirreff thought these prices were fair and were such that an industrious farmer could prosper.

From Springfield Shirreff traveled by stage to Alton with a brief stop at Jacksonville, a village about the same size as Springfield but "superior in building, arrangement, and situation. Many of the houses consist of brick, and the hotels are large and commodious." The country was also more thickly populated.³¹ He considered Alton, a "beautiful" village of seven hundred people, very likely to become the most important river port of Illinois because of its location near the convergence of the rivers.³²

Shirreff considered Illinois the most favorable place in the world for immigrants. Although it could be a difficult place for "women and cattle, as helps (hired labor) could not always be had,"³³ he felt, however, that it could justly be called "the poor man's country." The soil was fertile and there was no other place in the world where a man could begin farming with such a small amount of money and, if he worked hard, secure so great a return. Shirreff was convinced that an immigrant could be successful in Illinois.

An entirely different picture of Chicago and its residents from the one Latrobe and Shirreff presented, is that of Charles Cleaver who, with his wife and nine children, arrived there in October, 1833. Cleaver was an Englishman who became one of the early businessmen of Chicago. While he admits many of the defects pointed out by Shirreff and Latrobe, they are presented in a much more favorable manner.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 251.

³² *Ibid.*, 254.

³³ *Ibid.*, 242.

When Cleaver arrived, there were a few buildings on the south side of the river, scattered from what is now State Street to the forks of the river to the west. There were several buildings on the west side and a cluster of houses on the north side east of Dearborn Street. From Dearborn Street west, the north side was one dense forest except for three or four buildings.³⁴ The houses were usually sixteen feet by twenty, one and a half stories and with a small "lean-to." There were no stoves in the houses and fireplaces furnished both heat and a means of cooking.³⁵ There were at least four hotels in Chicago at that time—the "Mansion House near State, on Lake Street; the Sauganash on Market . . . ; Ingersoll's in West-Water, then known as Wolf Point . . . ; and the Green-Tree Hotel . . . on Canal."³⁶ Besides the hotels there were some boarding houses, the most fashionable of which was a log building sixteen by twenty-four feet where forty people "took their meals" daily.³⁷

The first winter that Cleaver spent in Chicago was a difficult one, for there was a scarcity of food. Flour sold for \$28 a barrel and "it was a favor to get it at that." Potatoes or butter could not be found, and by spring they were "reduced to beef, pork, and corn meal." Cleaver remarked that he did not know what the people would have done if navigation on the lake had not opened early.³⁸

From the spring of 1834, however, the village began to improve. From May to November of that year, the population grew to a total of seven or eight hundred—an increase of four to five hundred. Two "quite respectable" hotels were built on Lake Street, as well as several new stores. A tailor shop erected on the corner of LaSalle and Lake streets was called the "prairie tailor" because of its location.³⁹

³⁴ Charles Cleaver, *Early-Chicago Reminiscences* (*Fergus Historical Series*, No. 19, Chicago, 1882), 24.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

The summer of 1835 brought more improvements and a larger population to Chicago. A brick hotel, the Lake House, was built at Kinzie and Rush streets, in addition to several more stores nearby. In 1836 numerous speculators arrived from the East to attend the land sales, with the result that "the citizens made money and put on new airs."⁴⁰ By 1838 the city extended as far south as Madison Street, which was on the outskirts and a great distance from the center of business at Clark and South Water streets.⁴¹

Cleaver was forced to agree with Latrobe and Shirreff, however, that Chicago was a mudhole. On the north side, between the north branch of the river and North State Street, the water was six to nine inches deep the entire year. For a distance of ten miles on the west side it was two feet deep in places.⁴² In the spring of 1836 Cleaver saw a stage mired on Clark Street opposite the present-day Sherman House "where it remained several days, with a board driven in the mud at the side of it bearing this inscription: 'No bottom here.' " He also saw a lady stuck in the mud in the middle of Randolph Street at the crossing of LaSalle. She was so embarrassed that she refused all offers of help. After some time she managed to free herself but not her shoes.⁴³ The city officials realized the seriousness of the situation, but they had a difficult time in trying to eliminate the mud. They found that the best plan was to fill in the low places, but this cost money which was not always available. In 1836, for instance, the city wanted to drain a slough on Clark Street south of Washington, and attempted to borrow \$60 from a brokerage firm, but the brokers were reluctant and the city did not succeed in obtaining it until the loan was personally guaranteed by someone the firm knew to have that much.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

An interesting picture of the social life and amusements of the people of Chicago in those early days is also given by Cleaver. During the winter of 1833-1834 there was very little visiting between the ladies because there were no servants and the women had all they could do to manage their homes. In addition, they did not feel that their houses were suitable for entertaining. However, there was a prayer meeting once a week for those "religiously inclined"; and at the Sauganash Hotel there was often a dance "for those who wished." A game that was very common in Chicago was checkers. It was especially enjoyed by the storekeepers, who were not too busy during the winter. There was a great deal of card playing at night after the stores were closed. These parties were quite lively affairs, for sometimes the men would accompany them with champagne suppers. Cleaver writes that they would set out a dozen or two bottles, knock the necks off all of them and then begin—"they used to keep such parties up half the night."⁴⁵

Wolves were very numerous in Chicago that winter, and when one was captured alive, Cleaver joined the men of the village in an impromptu wolf hunt. They turned the wolf loose on the prairie at what is now Wabash Avenue and Randolph Street and then chased him down with dogs. This hunt was great sport for the men.⁴⁶

However, a more developed social life began to appear by the winter of 1835-1836. The ladies organized a society and held weekly meetings; several concerts were given on a piano that had been brought in from London; and weekly dancing parties were started at the Lake House. Cleaver remarked that "society seemed to take upon itself a more decided form, rising from the chaos in which it had before been."⁴⁷

While Cleaver was not always impartial, his observations are very interesting as a general picture of Chicago and the life of its people during those early days.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

WALT WHITMAN AND LINCOLN

BY CLARENCE A. BROWN

IT IS strange that history has linked so closely the names of Walt Whitman and Abraham Lincoln who, so far as is known, never were introduced and never exchanged a word.¹ It is not so strange, however, in view of Whitman's penetrating insight into human nature and into the troubled times in which he lived, that one finds his estimate of Lincoln to be unusually accurate and far-sighted, coming as it did before the growth of the Lincoln legends and the recognition of Lincoln's greatness by the nation. And it is fitting that Whitman's most popular poem, "O Captain! My Captain!" and the poem which is recognized as his masterpiece, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," should stand among the greatest tributes to Lincoln in American literature.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact that Whitman's dedication to the cause of American democracy and the union of the states formed a bond between him and Lincoln which was deeper and more abiding than any which could have arisen out of occasional personal contacts. Moreover, it was Whitman's faith in the West as the great hope

¹ Much is made of this fact by William E. Barton in *Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman* (Indianapolis, 1928). In attempting to discredit Whitman, Barton missed what seems to be the true facts of their relationship.

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WALT WHITMAN, BY ALBERTO SANGORSKI

This miniature painting and the intricate decorations at each side of it are from the most beautiful book in the Lincoln library of the late Governor Henry Horner. The sixteen vellum leaves have five miniatures; these and the script and illumination are the handiwork of Alberto Sangorski; the text is of Lincoln's Gettysburg and Second Inaugural addresses and Walt Whitman's "O Captain! My Captain!" The rich hand-tooled blue leather binding and case are by Rivière and Sons of London. The book was presented to the Historical Library in 1952 by Henry Horner Straus, nephew of the Governor.

for American democracy and his belief that the West was to contribute some of the most essential traits of the American character that led him to prophesy, if not the coming of Lincoln, at least the coming of someone whose ideals Lincoln was to embody. As early as 1846, Whitman, in his capacity as editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, in an editorial, "The West," wrote:

Radical, true, far-scoped, and thorough-going Democracy may expect, (and such expecting will be realized,) great things from the West! The hardy denizens of those regions, where common wants and the cheapness of the land level conventionalism, (that poison to the Democratic

vitality,) begin at the roots of things—at first principles—and scorn the doctrines founded on mere precedent and imitation. . . . There is something refreshing even in the extremes, the faults, of Western character.²

In an article entitled "The Eighteenth Presidency," written not long before the campaign of 1856, there is an almost uncanny prophecy of the savior of the union who four years later was to come out of the West: "I would be much pleased to see some heroic, shrewd, fully-informed, healthy-bodied, middle-aged, beard-faced American blacksmith or boatman come down from the West across the Alleghanies and walk into the Presidency."³ If Whitman had only struck upon "rail-splitter or boatman," the analogy would have been complete.

As soon as Whitman became editor of the *Eagle*, he took a definite stand on the question of slavery. He abhorred slavery, but was not ready in the late 1840's to abolish the institution in the South. Rather, it was his hope that with the growth of the spirit of democracy in America, and with an increasingly enlightened public opinion, slavery could be eliminated through peaceful means. He was a "Free-Soiler," and in his editorials roundly denounced the abolitionists who he felt were threatening the cause of unity by disregarding the established laws of the nation. A striking parallel exists between Whitman's point of view and that of Lincoln, beginning in these early days and following through the Civil War crisis—although at first Whitman was a loyal Democrat and Lincoln a Whig.

Whitman claimed, with considerable justification, to have been the first New York editor to oppose the extension of slavery into new territories. As early as 1846, he was writing vigorous editorials taking this stand. When David Wilmot introduced in Congress what was to be known as the Wilmot Proviso, it became apparent to Whitman that the Democrats

² Emory Holloway, ed., *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, New York, 1921, 2 vols.), I: 151.

³ Clifton Joseph Furness, ed., *Walt Whitman's Workshop, A Collection of Unpublished Manuscripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 93.

were afraid of the issue and were going to avoid it because most of the party's strength was in the South, which opposed this prohibition of slavery. Soon the party was split by the issue, and Whitman wrote frequent editorials in support of the Wilmot Proviso at the same time that Lincoln was voting repeatedly for it in the House of Representatives. It was the failure of the Democratic Party to support the Proviso, and its subsequent division over the issue, which led Whitman in the late 1850's to become a Republican through the Free Soil movement.

Whitman, like Lincoln, was never inclined to sacrifice his principles, and he always regarded political parties merely as the means of getting things done. He had already grasped the fundamental truth, which he saw as clearly as Lincoln, that democracy meant something more than a political system and that, if it was to endure, it would be because it was primarily of the spirit.

Like Lincoln, who was then struggling with the same moral questions, Whitman saw that the principles of democracy and the union between the states must be preserved at all costs. Writing editorially in the *Eagle* in 1847, Whitman stated his position, from which he never deviated in the years of controversy that followed:

But the worst of such insidious articles as the *Sun's* [against the unity of the states as one government] is that they depress the idea of the sacredness of the *bond of union of these states*. That bond is the foundation of incomparably the highest political blessings enjoyed in the world! And the position of things at present demands that its sacredness should be recognized by *every and all* American citizens—however they may differ on points of doctrine or abstract rights.⁴

It is revealing to compare this early statement concerning the union, with one of his many comments on Lincoln after the assassination:

⁴ Holloway, ed., *Uncollected Poetry of Whitman*, I: 156.

. . . honesty, goodness, shrewdness, conscience, and (a new virtue, unknown to other lands, and hardly yet really known here, but the foundation and tie of all, as the future will grandly develop,) UNIONISM, in its truest and amplest sense, form'd the hard-pan of his character.⁵

Some time after he was discharged as editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* because of his Free Soil sympathies (the owner, Isaac Van Anden, sided with the anti-Wilmot-Proviso faction), Whitman became editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Times* which professed to be unbiased politically. While with this paper he delivered his opinions on candidates and policies with independence and a judgment that sometimes proved almost uncanny. In a journalistically non-committal editorial written in August, 1858, is found the first mention on record by Whitman of the man with whose fame his own was to be so closely linked: "The contest now waging in Illinois with Senator Douglas, the Administration, and the Republicans, headed by Lincoln and Trumbull as the combatants, is exciting great interest. Of the two, Mr. Lincoln seems to have had the advantage thus far in the war of words."⁶ Perhaps if his editorship had included the campaign of 1860, he would have been as ardent a champion of Lincoln before the war as he was during and after it.

Whitman's residence in Washington during the war years afforded him frequent opportunity of observing Lincoln. He was an accurate observer, and the vignettes which he has left show his growing attachment to Lincoln and indicate his increasing conviction of Lincoln's greatness:

Earlier in the summer I occasionally saw the President and his wife, toward the latter part of the afternoon, out in a barouche, on a pleasure ride through the city. Mrs. Lincoln was dress'd in complete black, with a long crepe veil. The equipage is of the plainest kind, only two horses, and they nothing extra. They pass'd me once very close, and I saw the

⁵ Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel, eds., *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York and London, 1902, Camden Edition, 10 vols.), I: 118.

⁶ Emory Holloway and Vernolian Schwarz, eds., *I Sit and Look Out, Editorials from the Brooklyn Daily Times by Walt Whitman* (New York, 1932), 96.

President in the face fully, as they were moving slowly, and his look, though abstracted, happen'd to be directed steadily in my eye. He bow'd and smiled, but far beneath his smile I noticed well the expression I have alluded to. None of the artists or pictures has caught the deep, though subtle and indirect expression of this man's face. There is something else there. One of the great portrait painters of two or three centuries ago is needed.⁷

Whitman's account of seeing Lincoln on his way to the second inaugural again shows his attachment to the President and also his association of Lincoln with the West:

He was in his plain two-horse barouche, and look'd very much worn and tired; the lines, indeed, of vast responsibilities, intricate questions, and demands of life and death, cut deeper than ever upon his dark brown face; yet all the old goodness, tenderness, sadness, and canny shrewdness, underneath the furrows. (I never see that man without feeling that he is one to become personally attach'd to, for his combination of purest, heartiest tenderness, and native Western form of manliness.)⁸

On several occasions during these years, Whitman expressed his confidence in Lincoln. On October 15, 1863, writing to a friend, he states that "I believe fully in Lincoln—few know the rocks and quicksands he has to steer through."⁹ On October 27, he writes to his mother: "Mr. Lincoln has done as good as a human man could do. I still think him a pretty big President. I realize here in Washington that it has been a big thing to have just kept the United States from being thrown down and having its throat cut."¹⁰ We shall do well to remember that these were very uncertain times and to recall the mighty reaction against Lincoln in the elections of 1862 and the heavy vote for the opposition candidate in 1864. Whitman believed in Lincoln and went home to vote for him and to work for him at the polls.

The reaction of the Whitman household to the sudden and shocking death of Lincoln must have mirrored that of much of the nation:

⁷ *Complete Writings of Whitman*, I: 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV: 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

The day of the murder we heard the news very early in the morning. Mother prepared breakfast—and other meals afterward—as usual; but not a mouthful was eaten all day by either of us. We each drank half a cup of coffee; that was all. Little was said. We got every newspaper morning and evening, and the frequent extras of that period, and pass'd them silently to each other.¹¹

That the death of Lincoln produced a profound and lasting effect upon Whitman in both a personal and a creative sense is evident from even a cursory examination of his work. It would be impossible to read any of the poems or prose pieces written about Lincoln after his death without being aware of the depth and sincerity of the personal emotion present as well as of the sound, even prophetic, evaluation of the significance of Lincoln to America and to the world.

Whitman was, however, fully aware of the difficulty of judging Lincoln without the perspective of time:

Abraham Lincoln's was really one of those characters, the best of which is the result of long trains of cause and effect—needing a certain spaciousness of time, and perhaps even remoteness, to properly enclose them—having unequal'd influence on the shaping of this Republic (and therefore the world) as to-day, and then far more important in the future. Thus the time has by no means yet come for a thorough measurement of him.¹²

As he had done earlier, Whitman, in his later writings, continued to associate Lincoln with the West. In doing so, he may have touched upon one of the reasons why Lincoln was to become the closest of all our national heroes to the hearts of the American people:

How does this man compare with the acknowledg'd "Father of his country"? Washington was model'd on the best Saxon, and Franklin—of the age of the Stuarts (rooted in the Elizabethan period)—was essentially a noble Englishman, and just the kind needed for the occasions and the times of 1776-'83. Lincoln, underneath his practicality, was far less European, was quite thoroughly Western, original, essentially non-conventional, and had a certain sort of outdoor or prairie stamp.¹³

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I: 37-38.

¹² *Ibid.*, III: 202-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 204-5.

Whitman's most thorough analysis of Lincoln is in his lecture, "Death of Abraham Lincoln," which was delivered in New York in 1879, in Philadelphia in 1880, and in Boston in 1881. One of the main themes of the lecture concerns the real meaning of a heroic life such as Lincoln's:

The final use of a heroic-eminent life—especially of a heroic-eminent death—is its indirect filtering into the nation and the race, and to give, often at many removes, but unerringly, age after age, color and fibre to the personalism of the youth and maturity of that age, and of mankind. Then there is a cement to the whole people, subtler, more underlying, than any thing in written constitution, or courts or armies—namely, the cement of a death identified thoroughly with that people, at its head, and for its sake. Strange, (is it not?) that battles, martyrs, agonies, blood, even assassination, should so condense—perhaps only really, lastingly condense—a Nationality.¹⁴

Moreover, he sees that Lincoln's life and death marked enduringly not only our nineteenth century but also, through his erasure of slavery, the close of that long procession of European feudalism so foreign to American democracy:

When, centuries hence, (as it must, in my opinion, be centuries hence before the life of these States, or of Democracy, can be really written and illustrated,) the leading historians and dramatists seek for some personage, some special event, incisive enough to mark with deepest cut, and mnemonize, this turbulent nineteenth century of ours, (not only these States, but all over the political and social world)—something, perhaps, to close that gorgeous procession of European feudalism, with all its pomp and caste-prejudices (of whose long train we in America are yet so inextricably the heirs)—something to identify with terrible identification, by far the greatest revolutionary step in the history of the United States (perhaps the greatest of the world, our century)—the absolute extirpation and erasure of slavery from the States—those historians will seek in vain for any point to serve more thoroughly their purpose, than Abraham Lincoln's death.¹⁵

In the final analysis, however, it was Lincoln's embodiment of the ideals of democracy and the union which would constitute his immortality:

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II: 254.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 255-56.

Consider'd from contemporary points of view— who knows what the future may decide?—and from the points of view of current Democracy and The Union (the only thing like passion or infatuation in the man was the passion for the Union of These States), Abraham Lincoln seems to me the grandest figure yet, on all the crowded canvas of the Nineteenth Century.¹⁶

And so it was through their common love for and dedication to the cause of American democracy and the union, and through Lincoln's embodiment of Whitman's ideals of the West, that Walt Whitman came to love a man he never, in the formal sense, really knew; and came to express not only his love but also the love of an entire nation in his "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"

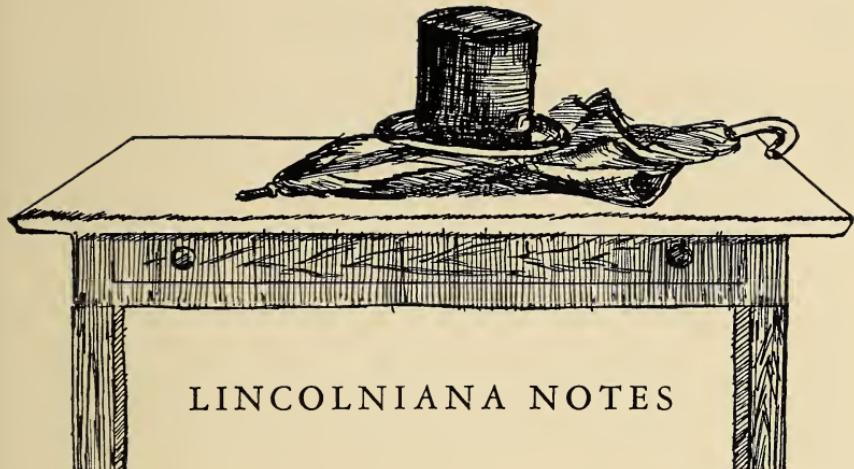
..... for the dead I loved so well,
For the sweetest, wisest soul of all my days
and lands. . .

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III: 207.

As I would not be a slave, so I
would not be a master. This ex-
presses my idea of democracy—
Whatever differs from this, to the
extent of the difference, is no
democracy—

LINCOLN'S DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY

Among the documents of Abraham Lincoln recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library is this definition of democracy. The date generally ascribed to it is *circa* August 1, 1858. The manuscript was given by Mrs. Lincoln to her friends, James and Myra Bradwell of Chicago, about 1876. Mrs. Bradwell was Illinois' first woman lawyer.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

"HIS WHISKERS ARE A GREAT IMPROVEMENT"

Anna Ridgely (later Mrs. James L. Hudson), a Springfield girl of nineteen at the time the Lincolns left for Washington, kept a diary. Excerpts from her diaries, titled "A Girl in the Sixties," edited by her niece Octavia Roberts Corneau, were published in the October, 1929 issue of this *Journal*. At that time Miss Ridgely's diary for 1861 was unavailable, but has since been acquired by the Historical Library. She knew the Lincolns and the President's secretaries John G. Nicolay and John Hay, and these excerpts from her entries of February 10 and 17, 1861, recording the events of the preceding weeks, are of interest:

[*Monday, February 4*] In the evening we went to the reading . . . I went with Bob Lincoln. . . .

[*Wednesday, February 6*] This was the 6th of February a remarkable day surely "thereby hangs a tale" we went to Aunt Harriet's to tea and had a very pleasant time. we came home and dressed for the reception and did not get ready until nearly ten o'clock. we found the house crowded but did not know many of the persons as all of our friends had been there earlier and gone to a little dance. we did

not stay long. I had some conversation with Mrs Lincoln, she was dressed in a pear colored moire-antique with pearls and point lace Mr L really looked handsome to me his whiskers are a great improvement and he had such a pleasant smile I could not but admire him. at nine o'clock the street was lined with visitors and many could not get in at all. . . .

[*Thursday, February 7*] We all went to a lecture in the evening delivered by Bishop Simpson on the subject of Palestine. we liked it very much . . . Mary [an older sister] went with Mr Hay. He and Mr Nicolay are going to Washington with Mr Lincoln we shall miss them both very much. . . .

[*Saturday, February 9*] Bob Lincoln called to bid us good bye and Mr Hay spent the evening with Mary. . . .

[*Sunday, February 10*] Mr Nicolay called to say good bye. Mr Hay had made his fare well visit as they were both to leave the next morning. We staid down stairs until eleven o'clock and then came up hoping Mr N would take the hint and go but no there he sat and cousin John also until one o'clock, each, I suppose, wishing each other in Halifax.

THE "REFRACTORY . . . 'PET OF THE FAMILY'"

The *New York Times'* day-by-day reports on the Lincolns' trip from Springfield to Washington included the following incident which took place at Poughkeepsie, New York, on February 19, 1861. This was published in the *Times* of February 20 as follows:

— Mrs. Lincoln, who was recognized in the cars, was warmly welcomed by the crowd. In response she raised the window, and returned the salutations of the people. "Where are the children? Show us the children," cried a loud voice. Mrs. Lincoln immediately called her eldest son to the window, and he was greeted by a hearty cheer. "Have you any more on board?" "Yes," replied Mrs. Lincoln, "here's another"—and she attempted to bring [Tad] a tough, rugged little fellow, about eight years of age, into sight. But the young representative of the House of Lincoln proved refractory, and the more his mother endeavored to pull him

up before the window the more stubbornly he persisted in throwing himself down on the floor of the car, laughing at the fun, but refusing to receive the proffered honor of a reception. So his mother at last was constrained to give up the attempt to exhibit the "pet of the family."

"BIG INDIAN" STUMPING IT IN OHIO

The *Illinois State Register*, Springfield, was always glad of an opportunity to belittle Lincoln. Here is one of its more entertaining outbursts published on September 23, 1859:

MR. LINCOLN IN OHIO.—Hon. Abe. Lincoln has been stumping it in Ohio. He does not appear to have filled republican expectations of him. The notoriety he gained by being the competitor of Douglas last year, had led them to think him much more of a "big Indian" than he proved. The *Ohio Statesman* says of Mr. Lincoln's speech at Columbus:

The Young Men's Republican Club must have been mortified at the very meagre audience in attendance at the Lincoln meeting held yesterday afternoon on the eastern terrace of the state house. The Douglas meeting on Wednesday week at the same place, could well have spared a number of men equal to that which heard Lincoln on yesterday, and not missed them from the assemblage. The meeting yesterday was indeed a "beggarly account of empty boxes," and the speaker disappointed all who heard him. We should be content to have Mr. Lincoln speak on the eastern terrace every day from this time until the election. He is not an orator. He can hardly be classed as a third rate debater. The most of his time was taken up in what he supposed to be a review of Douglas' popular sovereignty doctrine, and the article in Harper on that subject. He is opposed to the principle of leaving to the people of the territories the right to mold their institutions in their own way; is in favor of the intervention of congress and the control of the people of the territories through congressional power; and further; he is of opinion that there is an "irrepressible conflict between the states of this Union which will never end, until

all are free or all are made slave states." Mr. Lincoln is not a great man—very, very far from it, and his visit here will not pay expenses. Indeed the republicans feel that they have burned their fingers by bringing him here. Happily for them, however, the audience was so small that his very inferior speech will do much less damage than it would have done had the audience been large.

His Cincinnati effort, the *Enquirer* says was quite as unsatisfactory as that at Columbus. He did not get much of a crowd, and those who were present were greatly disappointed. Mr. Lincoln is not a good one to travel.

CAMPAIGN RUMOR OF 1860

Here is what happened to one of the rumors of the campaign of 1860, as reported in the *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* of Galena on June 12 of that year:

A LIE ON LINCOLN NAILED

We believe the Galena *Courier*, as well as the Chicago *Times*, gave currency to the lie, impaled as below, but it has not yet made any retraction:

OFFICE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S. }
June 5, 1860. }

Sir: I have caused the official copies of the annual reports of the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the expenditure of the Contingent Fund of the House of Representatives during the Thirtieth Congress to be examined as requested, and do not find that at either session of that Congress there is any charge upon the Contingent Fund of the House of Representatives, or the Stationary Account thereof, of twenty-five dollars for three pairs of boots furnished Honorable Abraham Lincoln during that Congress, as charged in the *Chicago Times* of May 30th, 1860.

I am very respectfully yours,

JNO. W. FORNEY.

Per P. Barry Hayes

Chief Clerk House of REPRESENTATIVES.

C. H. RAY, Esq., CHICAGO.

"A MOST BEAUTIFUL DIRTY CLAY COLOR"

In an article in the Spring, 1953, issue of this *Journal* Kenneth Scott quoted a dozen writers on the appearance of the Lincoln Home when they visited it in 1860. The five who mentioned its color said it was some shade of brown. A corroboration of their statements was found recently in the diary of Abner W. Foreman of Detroit, Pike County, Illinois, a hospital steward in the Seventh Illinois Mounted Infantry. The diary was presented recently to the Illinois State Historical Library by Mrs. Grant Foreman. Under March 2, 1865, Foreman writes: "Took a stroll through the city [Springfield] to day Saw the governors house and Matteson mansion & President Lincolns old residence. . . . As to the presidents house little can be said. I[t] needs but little. It is a small frame house painted a most beautiful dirty clay color with a 4 x 6 portico in front."

BOWLING GREEN AND THE LAW

A story doubtless told many times by both Lincoln and Edward D. Baker is printed below. Bowling Green, the fat old justice of the peace near New Salem, died in 1842, but nineteen years later Baker used him to illustrate a point in his reply to Judah P. Benjamin's speech on the right of secession. The story—perhaps the first printing of this version—is on page 20 of Baker's thirty-one page, two-day reply delivered on January 2-3, 1861 in the United States Senate:

I do not think that the argument can be defended other than upon the ground assumed by a justice of the peace, well known to my distinguished friend [Stephen A. Douglas] from Illinois, old Bolling Green, in answer to a little law advice that I gave him on one occasion when the Senator and I were both very young men, and (if he will excuse me for saying so) very poor lawyers. [Laughter.] Old Bolling Green, then a magistrate, came to me and said: "Baker, I want to know if I have jurisdiction in a case of slander." I

put on a very important air; looked at him steadily—looked as wise as I could, and said to him: "Squire, you have no such authority; that is reserved to a court of general jurisdiction." "Well," said he, "think again; you have not read law very well, or very long; try it again; now, have I not jurisdiction; can I not do it?" "No," I said, "you cannot." Said he: "Try once more; now, cannot I take jurisdiction?" "No, sir," said I, "you cannot; I know it; I have read the law from Blackstone to ———; well, I have read Blackstone, and I know you cannot do it." "Now, sir," said he, "I know I can; for, by Heaven, I have done it." [Laughter.] I understand, now, that the sum total of the answer which is made to my objection as to the constitutionality of the Missouri compromise touching the consciences of the gentlemen who proposed to pass it without power, is just the reply of my old friend Bolling Green. They say, "theoretically we have not the power; constitutionally we have not the power; but, by Heaven, we have done it." [Laughter.]

LINCOLN'S CANE ON DISPLAY

The cane on display in the Henry Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library has an interesting background. An item in the *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], June 20, 1868, tells part of the story. Under a heading "PERSONAL—PRESENTATION" the *Journal* says:

Mrs. Abraham Lincoln and her son "Tad," arrived in this city yesterday morning, and are stopping at Leland Hotel. Yesterday "Tad," on behalf of Mrs. Lincoln, presented a beautiful cane, to our esteemed fellow citizen Hon. Jesse K. Dubois. The reminiscences connected with the gift are of unusual interest. The cane is a California Orange stick finished in the highest style of art, the end of the curved head bears a golden plate on which is inscribed "From Broderick to Conness,"—"From Conness to President Lincoln." "From Mrs. Lincoln to Jesse K. Dubois, 1868." This cane was presented by Hon. David C. Broderick to Hon. John Conness, while the parties were residents of

California, and soon after Conness took his seat in the Senate at Washington, he presented it to President Lincoln by whom it was highly prized. We understand that Mrs. Lincoln will remain several days in our city.

The rest of the story is as follows: Former State Auditor Jesse K. Dubois gave the cane to State Auditor Charles E. Lippincott in 1872. In 1888, at a political rally in Rockford, Illinois, a brother of Lippincott's, Thomas W. Lippincott, gave it to Joseph W. Fifer, who had been a private in the Thirty-third Illinois Infantry during the Civil War. Fifer was elected and served as governor from 1889-1893.

In 1926 Fifer presented the cane to his grandson, Joseph F. Bohrer of Bloomington, Illinois. Mr. Bohrer has loaned it to the Illinois State Historical Library for display.

The gold plate on the head of the cane bears the engraved names of its various owners—up to Governor Fifer.

"TURN ABOUT IS FAIR PLAY"

There is abundant evidence in contemporary letters and newspapers that Abraham Lincoln, John J. Hardin and Edward D. Baker agreed not to campaign against each other for the Whig nomination for congressman from the seventh Illinois district. For all practical purposes this meant that they agreed to rotate the office—"Turn about is fair play" became a Whig slogan. At the district convention in Pekin on May 1, 1843 Lincoln arose and stated that he had been requested to withdraw Baker's name as the party's candidate and Hardin was chosen unanimously. Lincoln then introduced a resolution naming Baker "as a suitable person" for Whig support at the following congressional election. Six weeks earlier, on March 17, 1843, the *Illinois State Register* of Springfield had made this prediction:

Our ears are stunned here, just now, by the din of the Whigs, concerning Lincoln and Baker, as to which shall go

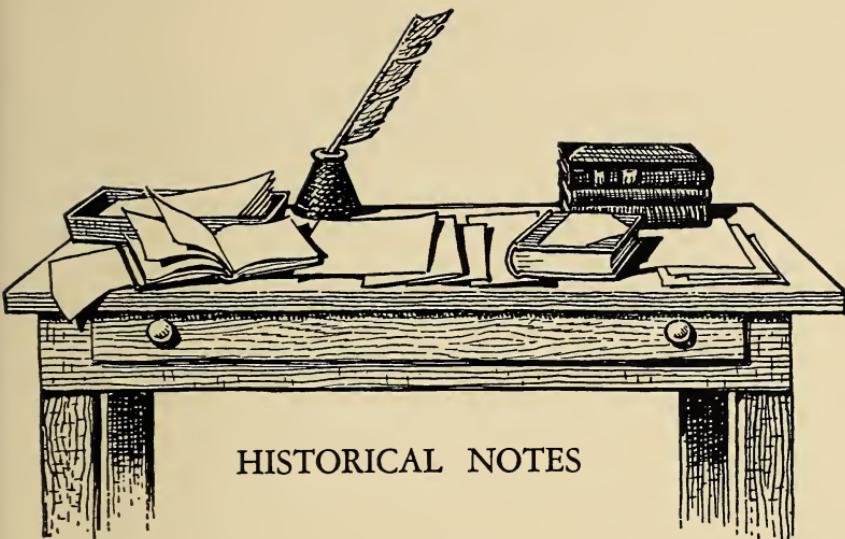
to Congress from this district. If we are to believe either of the two factions, it would be difficult to decide which is the bigger rascal. From the heat manifested by the partizans on both sides, it is evident that they look upon the decision to be made here on Monday week as settling the question for the entire district; and we confess, we think it very probable that it will. The influence of Sangamon county has been felt before this on many questions.

The Junto are organized here—they have their secret agents ready to visit the several counties; and, rely upon it, they will choke down the throats of the Whigs of Tazewell, Morgan, Scott, &c. whatever candidate they please, however bitter he may be to swallow.

Next Monday is to decide the question. On that day, the Whigs of Sangamon are to make choice between Lincoln and Baker. Whichever candidate is defeated, is to withdraw altogether from before the Convention. This is done in order to give Sangamon the candidate. She has had the congressman ten years, while the district included half the State, and she is now setting her stakes to keep him ten years more. Lincoln, Baker, and Logan have all to be satisfied in turn, before any other county can get even a slice. Poor [Congressman John T.] Stuart! he is tetotally forgotten in the scramble! He probably sold out his right just before the last election. You have heard of such a sale, perhaps; have you not, Mr. Hardin? We do not ask you, dear sir, from the slightest belief that you were consulted at the *sale*: it was no necessary to consult *you*, or any other whig out of Springfield: the Junto have a way of trading among themselves; and they expect you, and such as you, to carry out the contract.

AIR CONDITIONING FOR THE TOMB

Air conditioning of the Lincoln Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield was completed during May by the Falconer Refrigeration Company of Springfield. Three air conditioning units and new ducts were installed to replace the old air circulating system which had proved ineffective.



HISTORICAL NOTES

RARE NEWSPAPERS IN HISTORICAL LIBRARY

State Auditor Orville E. Hodge on March 16 turned over to the Illinois State Historical Library, at the suggestion of State Historian Harry E. Pratt, eighty bound volumes of newspapers, chiefly those sent to the Auditor's office to prove publication of delinquent tax lists and notices of sales of state lands or of forfeited property, so that the publishers could receive payment. This collection—one of the largest and most unusual added to the Library—covers the years 1820, 1823-1831, 1834-1856, 1858-1890 and 1893 for the entire state, and 1891 and 1911-1917 for Cook County. The volumes will be on permanent deposit in the Library and available to researchers.

Through 1831 the tax lists for the entire state were published in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, first at Kaskaskia and then at Vandalia. Later the list for each county was published separately, in whatever paper the county board desired. Preference was usually given to local papers, if any; but a notice that Abraham Lincoln owed eighty-one cents on Cass County land for 1844 was found in the *Winchester* [Scott County] *Republican* of April 5, 1845; and the abolitionist *Western Citizen* of Chicago was chosen to publish the tax list of strongly antislavery Putnam County. With the establishment of the *Hardin Gazette* at Elizabethtown in 1873 each of Illinois' 102 counties was represented by at least one newspaper published within its limits. The Library previously had papers from only ninety-five counties.

The eighty volumes contain 7,704 individual copies of newspapers, of which 2,044 are duplicates—from two to ten copies of the same issue. Of

the 5,660 different issues, 4,790 were new to the Library. More than a hundred of the 914 different titles, published in 192 towns and cities, were unknown to Franklin W. Scott when he compiled *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, Volume VI, 1910). Dr. Scott would have welcomed knowledge of these papers, and would have found the others a gold mine of supplementary data as to editors and publishers, their political leanings, dates of beginning and ending publication, etc.

Although nowadays a newspaper must be in continuous publication for six months before it is qualified to print legal notices, the Auditor's collection contains tax lists printed in Volume I, number 1 of the following papers:

Alton: *Western Argus*, Feb. 19, 1845

Danville: *Danville Patriot*, March 28, 1844

Dixon: *Dixon Telegraph and Lee County Herald*, May 1, 1851

Elizabethtown: *Hardin Independent*, May 11, 1882

Grafton: *Grafton Reporter*, March 31, 1849

Havana: *Havana Times*, April 23, 1852

Marshall: *Marshall Messenger*, April 28, 1865

Mt. Carmel: *The Plough Boy*, April 6, 1844

Mt. Vernon: *The Sentinel*, May 2, 1856

Pittsfield: *Pike County Sentinel*, July 17, 1845

Shawneetown: *Southern Illinoian*, May 7, 1852

Sterling: *Sterling Times and Whiteside County Advertiser*, March 22, 1855

Sullivan: *Moultrie County Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1861

The Ewington *Pioneer* issued the tax list on July 5, 1856, *nineteen days before* its Volume I, number 1 on July 24. Over 160 other papers are represented in the collection by issues (later than number 1) from their first volumes.

The names of the papers would be a story in themselves. The rise and fall of such movements as Greenbackism, Populism and Grangerism can be traced in the names, as well as the contents, of various short-lived papers. Among many compound names the *Quincy Herald, Adams, Brown and Schuyler County Advertiser* is the longest. Among the more unusual names in this collection are:

Randall's Illustrated Aurora City Life (without an illustration!); *The Legal Tender* [Benton]; *The Herald of Truth* [Carbondale]; *The Calumet of Peace* [Carlyle]; *Rough and Ready* (a Taylor campaign paper of Charleston); *Egyptian Picket Guard and Chester Reveille and Homestead Advocate* [Chester]; *Weekly Jacksonian Ventilator* [DeSoto]; *Stars and Stripes* [Du Quoin]; *Protestant Monitor* [Greenville]; *The Squatter Sovereign* [Havana]; *The Anti-Monopolist* [Hillsboro]; *Star-Spangled Banner* [Lawrenceville, Olney and Russellville]; *The Promulgator* [Metropolis]; *The Liberal Reformer* [Morris]; *The Western Spy* [Mt. Sterling]; *Egyptian Torch-Light*

and *The Weekly Exponent* [Mt. Vernon]; *Star of the Prairie Land* [New Boston]; *The Yellow Jacket* [Palestine]; *The Predestinarian* [Paris]; *Sucker and Farmer's Record* [Pittsfield]; *The Plano Pivot*; *Raleigh Egyptian and Poet's Record* (without any poetry!); *The Political Examiner* and *The Test* [Rushville]; *The Industrial* [Salem]; *Western Voice and Internal Improvement Journal* [Shawneetown]; *Age of Steam and Fire*, *Baptist Helmet*, and *The Olive Leaf* [Vandalia]; *The Egyptian Artery* [Vienna]; *Little Fort* [now Waukegan] *Porcupine and Democratic Banner*; *Battle Axe and Political Reformer* [Winchester].

Among the most welcome volumes, however, were three which contain no delinquent tax lists: The complete file of the *Illinois State Register* [Springfield] for 1859, previously supposed lost and sought for everywhere; and two volumes of the *New York Times* and *Journal of Commerce, Jr.* for six months in 1855 and 1856.

When the index to the *Sangamo Journal*—*Illinois State Journal* for 1831-1860 was being compiled, the Library obtained photostats of every issue from every collection listed in Gregory's *Union List of Newspapers* not already in the Library's own file; but in spite of this country-wide search, 139 issues during that period were still missing. Six of these were found in the Auditor's collection, and nine others in the Moore collection mentioned below.

In the three years and a half since the compilation of the list of the Library's newspaper holdings published in *Illinois Libraries* (April, 1951), 399 bound volumes, 484 reels of microfilm, and approximately a thousand loose issues of *non-current* papers have been added. A visit to the office of Donald T. Forsythe, owner of the *Hancock County Journal* of Carthage, disclosed that the old files of the *Carthage Gazette* (which stopped publication in 1951) and the *Carthage Republican* (merged with the *Journal* in 1953) were destined for a scrap drive: files of the *Gazette* from its beginning (1865) and of the *Republican* since 1903, both more than ninety per cent complete, were donated to the Library.

The 119 volumes of newspapers collected and bound by Clifton H. Moore of Clinton, Lincoln's associate on the Eighth Circuit, contained an almost complete file of Clinton newspapers from the town's first paper in 1854 through 1899. In addition there were the first seven volumes of the *New York Tribune*, several volumes of the *Chicago Times* during the 1870's, and a number of miscellaneous papers including the nine *Sangamo Journals* referred to above—all new to the Library. That *rara avis* of library newspaper files—a *complete* file with no missing issues—came from the *La Harper* [La Harpe], covering its first 49 volumes (1875-1924) and presented by the son and daughter of publisher J. C. Coulson. Thirty-nine volumes of

the *Decatur Republican* extend the Library's coverage on Decatur back to 1867, and twenty-six volumes of the *Edwardsville Intelligencer* from Editor Gilbert S. Giese complete the file back to the first issue (1862).

Among the microfilm acquisitions since 1951 are: *Bloomington Pantagraph*, 1886-1937 (173 reels); *Centralia Sentinel*, 1863-1924 (54 reels), which will be extended as the other issues are filmed to complete the file to date; *Ottawa Republican*, 1856-1869 (3 reels), completing the Library's file of the *Republican* and its successor the *Republican-Times* from the beginning (1852) to date; *Sparta Democrat* and *Columbus Herald—Sparta Herald* (the name of the paper changing with that of the town), 1839-1841 (2 reels), the town's first papers; Warsaw papers (*Message, Signal and Western World*), 1840-1853 (5 reels), presented by Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., of Salt Lake City; and *Waukegan Sun and News-Sun*, 1897-1946 (158 reels).

The outstanding acquisition of unbound newspapers was purchased in the sale of the collection of the late Oliver R. Barrett, and contained over 250 issues new to the Library, most of them relating to Abraham Lincoln.

These acquisitions render a new list of the Library's newspaper holdings necessary, and such a list will be published in this *Journal* as soon as it can be prepared. The Library now has a total of 11,080 bound volumes, 6,010 microfilm reels and approximately 3,000 unbound issues of newspapers. It receives currently 55 papers, including 40 dailies, of which 32 are received on film.

JAMES N. ADAMS

"GRANT LEATHER STORE OF 1860"

Galena's "Grant Leather Store of 1860," a replica of the place of business which Ulysses S. Grant left to enter the Civil War, was opened on April 27 (Grant's birthday) for its second season as the city's newest historic shrine and tourist attraction.

The restoration, located on Main Street near the De Soto Hotel is one block from the store in which Grant worked as a clerk. Every effort has been made to have the interior an authentic 1860 establishment. It has been furnished with bracket and hanging lamps, stove, benches, counters, tools, and other equipment of the period. Its "stock" consists of harness, horse collars and saddles hung on wall pegs, copper-toed boots, buggy whips, leather trunks and hat boxes and harness hardware dating from 1860 or earlier.

The sign above the door bears the legend "Grant-Perkins Leather Goods." The Grant in the firm name was Ulysses Grant's father, Jesse R. Grant. The elder Grant was the owner or part owner of several such stores in Galena for more than twenty years. His eldest son Ulysses worked only in the J. R. Grant



Photo courtesy Mills Studio, Stockton, Ill.

GRANT'S LEATHER STORE IN 1954

When the replica of the "Grant Leather Store of 1860" was opened for its second season some residents of Galena dressed in pre-Civil-War costumes to observe the occasion. Examining one of the store's old sidesaddles is Walter Ehrler, while the costumed onlookers are, left to right, Mrs. George Millhouse, Jr., Irene Larey and Mrs. Henry Hoehn.

store at 145 Main Street, from the spring of 1860 to the spring of 1861.

Jesse R. Grant, tanner, farmer and businessman in Ohio, formed a partnership in 1841 with E. A. Collins, tanner, in Bethel, Ohio. Grant operated the tannery in Bethel and Collins the wholesale and retail store in Galena.

The *Galena Jeffersonian* of May 7, 1853 reported the dissolution of this partnership. Collins kept the old store and Grant opened a new one managed by his sons, Simpson and Orvil.

In April, 1860 Ulysses S. Grant and his family walked down the gangplank of the steamboat *Itasca* at Galena with the intention of making it their home. Grant, the former army captain and Missouri farmer, became a clerk-bookkeeper in his father's store. The *Northwestern Gazette* of April 24, 1860 and continuing through September, 1863 advertised "J. R. Grant, Dealer in Leather, Saddlery, Hardware . . . &c., No. 145 Main St., Galena, Illinois, (New Milwaukee Brick Block)." Ulysses left in the spring of 1861 to resume his army career. After Simpson's death in September Orvil managed the business.

The *Northwestern Gazette* of July 24, 1860 advertises the removal to 149 Main Street of C. R. Perkins, dealer in leather goods and buggies. This would have placed the two stores one or two doors from each other. The two firms merged in the spring of 1864. The *Galena Gazette* of April 5, 1864 carries the name "Grant & Perkins, No. 173 Main St."

GRANT HELPS A VICKSBURG WIDOW

A letter of General Ulysses S. Grant that would have won him commendation by both sides in the Civil War—had it become known—has recently been acquired by the Historical Library. Addressed to Captain Gilbert A. Pierce, whose name Grant misspells, it expresses a kindly interest and desire to be of assistance to the Widow Wright.

HEAD QUARTERS, DEPT. OF THE
VICKSBURG MISS. SEPT. 25TH 1863.

CAPT. PEARCE

A. Q. M.

CAPT.

Mrs. Wright has just called representing that our troops on coming to this place rifled her house completely not leaving any of the necessaries for housekeeping. As payment cannot be made for articles taken in this way I would direct that if you, or any other Asst. Qr. Mr. have such articles of household goods as she requires, from abandoned or captured property, such articles as Mrs. Wright requires be given to her.

Mrs. Wright also owns a house which I understand is now occupied by Govt. employees. She being a widow, without any member of her family in the Southern Army, this house should be given up to be rented out for her own benefit.

Respectfully &c.

U. S. GRANT

Maj. Gn.

C[ommanding]

Captain Gilbert Nashville Pierce (1839-1901) enlisted in Company H, Ninth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers in 1861, was appointed captain and assistant quartermaster by President Lincoln and brevetted lieutenant colonel in 1864. After the war he practiced law and served in the Indiana house of representatives. In 1871 he accepted an editorial position on the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, serving as associate editor and managing editor for twelve years. Appointed governor of Dakota Territory in July, 1884 he served until November, 1886. He was elected to the United States Senate when North Dakota became a state in 1889. Pierce purchased the *Minneapolis Tribune* in 1891 and became its editor-in-chief.

GENERAL GRANT'S ARABIAN HORSES

Among books purchased recently for the Alfred Whital Stern Civil War Collection of the Historical Library is a rare volume whose twelve-line title page reads: *History in Brief of "Leopard" and "Linden," General Grant's Arabian Stallions, Presented to him by the Sultan of Turkey in 1879. And also their sons "General Beale," "Hegira," and "Islam," bred by Randolph Huntington. Also Reference to the celebrated stallion, "Henry Clay."* The 66-page volume was written by Huntington, a Rochester, New York horse breeder, as "a souvenir to the memory of Grant," and to "encourage what he would like to do for the horse-breeders of America."

Huntingtons' ambition was to create "The National Thoroughbred Trotting-bred Horse of America." This, he said, would be in accordance with Grant's wishes since, "The general was a great lover of horses, and often remarked that 'He saw no reason why America should not have a national horse.'"

The book was published in 1885 and so could not tell the ultimate result of Huntington's plan. In addition to the text it contains drawings of Leopard, Linden Tree (the full translation of his Turkish name), Old Henry Clay, Hegira and General Beale—the first three by Herbert S. Kittredge.

A LETTER FROM GRANT TO SHERMAN

General Ulysses S. Grant landed troops at Bruinsburg, Mississippi, on the east side of the Mississippi River south of Vicksburg, on April 30, 1863. This opened his final successful thrust against Vicksburg. "When this was effected," he wrote in his *Personal Memoirs*, "I felt a degree of relief scarcely ever equalled since. . . . I was now in the enemy's country, with a vast river and the stronghold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supplies."

Grant gave up his plan to make Grand Gulf his base of supplies when

he arrived there on May 3. He knew his superior, General Henry W. Halleck in Washington, would disapprove but he expected the practicability of his new plan would be demonstrated before it could be countermanded. Grant noted in his *Memoirs*: "Even [William T.] Sherman, who afterwards ignored bases of supplies other than what were afforded by the country while marching through four States of the Confederacy with an army more than twice as large as mine at this time, wrote me from Hankinson's ferry, advising me of the impossibility of supplying our army over a single road. He urged me to 'stop all troops till your army is partially supplied with wagons, and then act as quick as possible; for this road will be jammed, as sure as life.'"

Grant replied to Sherman in the following letter, the original of which was recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library:

HEAD QUARTERS, DEPT. OF THE TEN.
ROCKY SPRINGS, MAY 7TH 1863.

MAJ. GEN. W. T. SHERMAN,
COMDG. 15TH ARMY CORPS.

GEN.

I do not calculate upon the possibility of supplying the Army with full rations from Grand Gulf. I know it will be impossible without constructing additional roads. What I do expect however is to get up what rations of hard bread, Coffee & salt we can and make the country furnish the balance.

We started from Bruinsburg with an average of about two days rations and received no more from our own supplies for seven days. Abundance was found in the mean time. Some cornmeal, bacon and vegetables was found and abundance of beef and mutton.

A delay would give the enemy time to reinforce and fortify. If Blair was up now I believe we could be in Vicksburg in seven days. The command here has an average of about three days rations which could be made to last that time.

You are in a country where the troops have already lived off the people for some days and may find provisions more scarce but as we get upon new soil they are abundant particularly in Corn and Cattle.

Bring Blairs two Brigades up as soon as possible. The advance will move to-day to about three miles beyond Cayuga and also in the Utica road.

Your Division at Willow Springs should also move to this place.

Yours truly

U. S. GRANT

Maj. Gen.

P.S. In publishing [*sic*] the order limiting the transportation I have designated Conduit Smith to take charge of the General supply train. I done this because I know no one but him, now with the Army, and available, who is capable. I hope you will not regard this as an interference with your Corps. It will be but a few days that his services will be required in this service as furthest.

U. S. G.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators.

The Courtroom Testimony as Originally Compiled by Benn Pitman.
(Funk & Wagnalls: New York, 1954. Pp. 422. \$7.50.)

The Case of Mrs. Surratt. Her Controversial Trial and Execution for Conspiracy in the Lincoln Assassination. By Guy W. Moore. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1954. Pp. 142. \$3.00.)

Enemies of the State. An Account of the Trials of the Mary Eugenia Surratt Case, the Teapot Dome Cases, the Alphonse Capone Case, the Rosenberg Case. By Francis X. Busch. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1954. Pp. 299. \$3.75.)

The testimony of some four hundred witnesses, as taken down by Pitman, the official reporter, is photographically reproduced in facsimile of the original 1865 edition. It is the best account of the trial of the eight conspirators for the murder of President Lincoln. Philip Van Doren Stern, author of *The Man Who Killed Lincoln*, has written a twenty-page Introduction that is an excellent reminder of many of the peculiar things about this infamous trial. For example, John F. Parker, the unfaithful guard of Lincoln's theater box, was not called to testify, nor was Charles Forbes, footman and personal attendant of the President. Why were Captain Samuel Cox and his half-brother Thomas A. Jones, who aided Booth to escape, not called. Why was Booth's diary, so important in the later trial of John H. Surratt, not introduced among the exhibits in evidence? The facsimile reprint has the handicap of the original edition—fine print—but interest in the recorded testimony will doubtless offset this for many readers.

"If Mrs. Surratt was not guilty (and there was and is a reasonable doubt), why was she hanged?" In a comparatively short work Guy W. Moore has sorted out the facts and set forth the testimony of John Lloyd and Louis J. Weichmann, the chief witnesses against her. You are taken into the crowded little boarding house, which still stands, and introduced to its regular boarders and its casual visitors, John Wilkes Booth, Lewis Payne, George A. Atzerodt and others. The specification against Mrs. Surratt at the trial was that between March 6 and April 20, 1865 she did "receive, entertain, harbor, and conceal, aid and assist" Booth and the men on trial. She was handicapped from the start, as were the others, by the type of court. A Southern woman, she was on trial before a jury of Union generals who had reason to believe that her son was as deep in the murder plot as Booth himself. Mrs. Surratt and the three condemned men were hanged on July 7, 1865, twelve weeks after Lincoln was shot. Some thought then that she was innocent; many more have since taken the same view.

Francis X. Busch's seventy-five-page summary of the case of Mrs. Surratt is thrilling reading. By contrasting the type of trial and the evidence in the trial of her son John H. Surratt, he leads the reader to agree with his conclusion that

Had Mrs. Surratt been tried in a civil court, before an honestly selected jury, she would, in all likelihood, have been promptly acquitted. In normal times any civil court of review would have set aside a judgment of conviction based on the evidence before the military tribunal. Crowning the whole unstable structure is the cruel fact that the military tribunal which condemned her was without jurisdiction to try her!

When the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in the Milligan case that a military tribunal . . . could not usurp the functions of the operating civil courts, . . . it made this solemn pronouncement:

"The importance of the main question [the jurisdiction of the military court] . . . cannot be overstated; for it involves the very framework of the Government and the fundamental principles of American liberty."

The case of Mary Eugenia Surratt is a frightful and convincing demonstration that there is no principle within the framework of our Government more fundamental and more to be guarded than the right of a civilian accused of crime to a trial by an impartial jury of his peers in a civil court.

The other cases in Busch's book are subjected to similar thorough analysis.

H. E. P.

Lincoln's New Salem. By Benjamin P. Thomas. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1954. Pp. v, 166. \$2.50.)

This excellent account of the village of New Salem on the Sangamon River is a revised edition of the study first published twenty years ago by

the Abraham Lincoln Association. Located eighteen miles northwest of Springfield, New Salem has been reconstructed as it was when Abraham Lincoln lived there (1831-1837). He arrived a penniless unknown, tried clerking in a store and a mill, soldiering in the Black Hawk War, owning a store, acting as postmaster and surveyor, and—most important—was twice elected to the legislature. His neighbors were his friends and backers. The village of approximately one hundred was only a memory after 1840, and of its inhabitants he was the only one to attain prominence.

How much and how well Lincoln studied grammar, Shakespeare and Burns on that windy hilltop cannot be measured, but he learned enough law to be admitted to the bar. To practice that profession in Springfield, which had recently been designated as the new state capital through his efforts in the legislature, was Lincoln's reason for taking leave of New Salem in April, 1837.

Today the twenty-three reconstructed log buildings filled with the furniture and implements of living of 125 years ago attract a third of a million visitors annually.

H. E. P.

Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell. (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1953. Pp. xxi, 575. \$5.00.)

Long before his death in 1948 Wesley Clair Mitchell was known in economic circles the world over as the research pioneer in the field of business cycles. This story of the lives of Mitchell and his wife (who distinguished herself in her own right as an educator) by the latter contains much of interest to readers of this *Journal* because of its many references to Illinois scenes and people.

Mitchell rose to fame at Columbia University, New York, but his life began in the "pleasant, tree-shaded little town of Rushville," August 5, 1874. His father, John Wesley Mitchell, was a country doctor who moved his family around frequently. Two of the seven children were born in Rushville, the third in Littleton, near Rushville, still others in Kinmundy and Decatur.

The Mitchell home in Kinmundy in the late 1870's is remembered as a grand old place, built by a sea captain, with a cupola for a "crow's nest" from which he could look across the fields of waving wheat that stretched away behind the house. There was a wide porch completely surrounding it for "walks on deck" where we children played rain or shine. The yard had a white picket fence, great pine trees with circular beds of daffodils and

verbenas beneath them, and a pretty grass-covered mound under a weeping willow where we played "Roly-poly, butter and eggs," at rest periods between sessions of reading by our lovely little mother in her royal-blue jacket embroidered in golden lilies. On Sunday afternoon we always had, at four o'clock, a "treat" of homemade candy or cookies.

The father, despite a serious leg ailment, often took part in the children's activities, such as trips to the cupola of the Kinmundy house.

To reach the cupola one had to cross a short stretch of tin roof—too hot on sunny days for barefooted little Mitchells to endure. The father used to carry one child after another across the blazing tin to the cupola. From there they could see the little town and surrounding farm lands spreading to Salem, twelve miles away.

Decatur was the family home from the time Wesley Clair Mitchell was six until he went to college at eighteen. The Decatur superintendent of schools, named Gastman, is vividly described:

He had a red beard, was enormous—over 200 pounds—with big flat feet and walked heavily. He was kind to animals and to children. His "hobby" was education from daily life. When he met a child he asked, "What did you see on the way to school?" When the circus came to town, he excused the children from school.

From 1892 to 1912 young Mitchell attended and taught at the University of Chicago. There he came under the influence of philosopher John Dewey and economist Thorstein Veblen. Also at the University were Paul Shorey, the Greek classicist, and William Vaughn Moody, the literary scholar. From Chicago Mitchell went to the University of California, and from there to New York. His wife, whom he married in Chicago in 1912, says, however, that he

always thought and spoke of himself as a Middle Westerner. He came to love the prairie land where he was born and lived out his boyhood. He loved what he called "the long rolling folds of land that is my home." He loved "the gracious hazy days of September in Illinois—when you catch the fragrance of burning grass and see everything through a prismatic screen."

Joseph A. Schumpeter called Wesley Clair Mitchell one of the "ten great economists" in the century from Marx to Keynes, but *Two Lives* makes it clear that all his life he was basically a very human, modest fellow from Rushville, Kinmundy and Decatur.

Collinsville

IRVING DILLIARD

Sand in the Bag. By M. A. Jagendorf. (Vanguard Press, Inc.: New York, 1952. Pp. 192. \$2.75.)

A sampling of folk stories from three midwestern states, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, is contained in this book; they are retellings of historical episodes, regional anecdotes, tall tales and the like. Dr. Jagendorf is not only an excellent storyteller, but he is one who understands the full import of the American folk story on American life. The whole of this book may be enjoyed by both children and adults. Nearly every story is good for a laugh, since they are written in a humorous and chatty fashion.

The first story in the Illinois section provides the title for the book. It is a riotous tale from Cairo about a practical joke played on hangers-on in a country store. Dipping into the thirteen stories from different parts of the state, Illinoisans will find such men as Abraham Lincoln, Peter Cartwright, Mike Fink, and other notables and nonentities. Stories selected for the Hoosier and Buckeye sections follow in the main the same pattern.

In an appendix, "The Roots of These Stories," the author indicates where and from whom he collected his material. In many cases, it was mined from county histories and out-of-the-way publications; in others, it was salvaged from chit-chat of old-timers or from folk-conscious informants steeped in state lore. In scanning this list, well-known names give the reader confidence that the author compiled his stories from reliable sources. Folksy illustrations decorate many pages of the book.

Sand in the Bag is the latest in a series of similar volumes about various localities. An earlier one, *New England Bean-Pot*, features tales from New England; another, *Upstate, Downstate*, contains stories from the Middle Atlantic area. The current volume will no doubt be followed by others.

Carbondale

GRACE PARTRIDGE SMITH

Lincoln and Prevention of War An Interpretation of the Lincolnian View. By Ralph G. Lindstrom. (Harrogate, Tennessee: Lincoln Memorial University, 1953. Pp. 25. Cloth, \$3.00; Paper, \$2.00.)

This thought-provoking book holds as its thesis that war is not inevitable. The Civil War, says the author, resulted from the failure to use the "federal democratic process." This "federal way" rests upon the will of the people, who in themselves are sovereign; and sovereignty is defined as "internal self-control (whether in individual person or individual unit of government)." Northern abolitionists, self-righteously, sought to exterminate slavery in the South; slave-holders wanted the right to take and hold slaves in free territory.

Lincoln, Mr. Lindstrom thinks, would advise as follows: "If you would avoid external interference with *your* affairs, do not externally interfere with the internal affairs of *others*, not even on moral issues. Where you have over-all law, let it be supreme in over-all affairs, but never seek to apply it to the internal affairs of even the smallest and weakest unit within the whole."

The author feels that the human race may achieve "man's vast future," and that the explosive violence of war is not the only solution to the "log jams" of history. Progress can be assured by a "system of allocated law-power."

S. A. W.

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By Clement Eaton. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. Pp. ix, 351. \$5.50.)

This compact work by a professor at the University of Kentucky is a very satisfactory account of a difficult and complicated subject. Unlike Robert S. Henry's 1931 work called *The Story of the Confederacy* (which gave nine-tenths of its attention to strictly military affairs), and unlike E. Merton Coulter's more recent *Confederate States of America* (which gave less than one-tenth of its space to battles and campaigns), Professor Eaton's work is an effort to achieve a balance among all the factors that made up life in a loose confederation of states at war.

One of his fourteen chapters surveys generals and strategy; three describe campaigns and battles; and one covers river and sea warfare. The other nine deal competently with politics, diplomacy, and the immediate effects of war upon the cultural and economic life of the South. The style, though neither distinguished nor distinctive, is clear and adequate.

The narrative, though it often seems to be deliberately undramatic, is, for the real lover of history, never dull. Even in discussing Confederate finances and the logistics of the gray army, Professor Eaton manages to be interesting. Although much indebted to the many historians who have labored in this rocky vineyard before him, he has constructed his narrative in some measure upon his own researches. And these help to give interest, color and dimension to the scores of persons, great and obscure, who move through his pages.

Although the volume is flavored by a sympathetic understanding of the South, it is critical of Confederate mistakes, misapprehensions and bickerings. Withal it is a superior combination of objectivity and thoroughness. It has no illustrations, which doubtless are not necessary. But most readers will lament the absence of maps.

Emory University

JAMES RABUN

The River Road: A Story of Abraham Lincoln. By Meridel Le Sueur. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1954. Pp. 175. \$2.50.)

This tale of nineteen-year-old Lincoln in Indiana and on his first flat-boat trip to New Orleans is one of the Borzoi books for young people. It bears heavily on the philosophy of slavery. Lincoln's thoughts and sayings on slavery, with which he had had little or no experience, bulk large in the story of the trip on the Ohio and Mississippi. One doubts that much of the author's meanderings will be understood or enjoyed by the young reader. If Abraham had such interest, knowledge and convictions about slavery at the age of nineteen, why was he silent and inactive on the subject for so many of his mature years?

Although there is meager documentary evidence for this period of Lincoln's life, it cannot be stated with finality, as does the author, that Lincoln "hated his father," and his stepmother was hardly his "new ma" after nine years. These questionable interpretations and other minor errors mar a book whose literary style and makeup are attractive. The caricature drawings of Lincoln are by Aldren A. Watson.

H. E. P.

A Pioneer Family. The Birkbecks in Illinois, 1818-1827. By Gladys Scott Thomson. (Jonathan Cape: London, 1953. Pp. 128. 10s 6d [\$2.10].)

The story of the English settlement on the prairies of Illinois near Albion is one of the most interesting episodes in the early history of the state. Now a new chapter has been added to that story—delightfully personal letters from Morris Birkbeck, his sons and daughters, to relatives in England. This is a most attractive book, both as to format and contents, and makes a definite contribution to the history of the "English Prairie." With regret the reader comes to the last letter written from Mexico by Bradford Birkbeck on December 15, 1841. The author has skillfully woven the letters together with a connecting narrative. A "Prologue" and an "Envoi" set the stage and let down the final curtain.

S. A. W.

The Old Country Store. By Gerald Carson. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1954. Pp. 330. \$5.00.)

Readers of Gerald Carson's article, "Cracker Barrel Days in Old Illinois Stores," in the Spring issue of this *Journal* will want to pursue further this

interesting but neglected subject. The author was born at Carrollton and his interest was aroused in the country store before he was graduated from the University of Illinois and became an advertising executive in New York.

Many phases of the author's research in old newspapers, store records, correspondence, county histories and diaries go back to the early nineteenth century when Illinois stores were just getting started but establishments were flourishing in the East. Later the Yankee peddlers who invaded the Midwest each year—some to settle here—outfitted their packs and wagons there. And still later many merchants made annual buying trips to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore or some other center. These are some of the non-Illinois phases of retailing that make up the book, along with interesting facts, folklore and anecdotes.

In the pre-railroad days a country dealer on a buying trip to the city might be taken in tow by a drummer who "wore a moustache and side whiskers and made a dashing figure with his walking stick, and shawl of rich wool plaid gracefully draped over his shoulder." If he could avoid being "coaxed, decoyed and finally ensnared" by this city slicker, the merchant took a chance of being victimized by the watch auction swindle—a worthless watch being substituted while it was being wrapped—or of finding himself bidding against "Peter Funk," the colloquial name for a fictitious character. Soon after the coming of the railroad the drummer became a traveling salesman who visited the country merchant. The author tells many stories of the poses and problems of this gentleman.

The many-sided usefulness of the country merchant started to fade when manufacturers began to package their products. As an advertising man Carson did his share in carrying on this merchandising revolution and for that reason calls his book "a tribute—and an atonement." But it was the automobile that finally ended the country store. This change he aptly explains thus:

"'You have a car, I see, but no bathroom?' remarked a Department of Agriculture investigator to a farm wife.

"'You can't go to town in a bathtub,' the lady replied."

Carson's text is enhanced by thirty-nine amusing woodcuts and line drawings. The book also has a list of country store museums, fifteen pages of chapter references and an adequate index.

H. F. R.



NEWS AND COMMENT

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S SPRING TOUR

Southern Illinois University and the cities of Carbondale and Cairo proved entertaining and helpful hosts to members of the Illinois State Historical Society on their Spring Tour, May 21-22. The University staff and faculty gave much of their time and both city administrations co-operated to enable the group to keep a full schedule.

Following registration, the two-day program was launched at 11 A.M. Friday with two talks in the University School Auditorium. Mrs. Charlotte McLeod addressed the earliest arrivals on the subject of her home town, "Carbondale Cameos and Capsules," and C. G. Massoth of Chicago, editor of the *Illinois Central Magazine*, spoke on "Wood Burners to Coal Burners: Early Days of the Illinois Central Railroad in Southern Illinois."

Presiding at the first day's luncheon was Professor William A. Pitkin of the History Department who, assisted by Mrs. Pitkin, was responsible for local arrangements for the entire tour. The group was welcomed to the city by Mayor John I. Wright and to the University by President Delyte W. Morris. The luncheon speaker was John W. Allen of the University, longtime student and writer of Southern Illinois lore, and Spring Tour chairman, whose subject was "History and Legend in Egypt." The afternoon was occupied with a tour of the campus and an inspection of Southern Acres, the University's new Vocational-Technical Institute near Crab Orchard Lake, eleven miles east of Carbondale, where coffee and doughnuts were served.

President Morris, who is also a director of the Society, presided at the dinner meeting Friday. F. W. Vandiver of the History Department of Washington University, St. Louis, spoke on "Are the Rebels Winning the Peace?" He indicated that the South is ahead of the North at least in the

quantity of post-Civil-War literature. After the dinner an open house was held in the Clint Clay Tilton Library with Dr. Harold E. Briggs, chairman of the History Department, and members of the history faculty, as hosts.

The all-day tour of about 125 miles on Saturday was favored by the fact that cloudy skies kept the temperature from rising to uncomfortable levels, and the few showers came while the caravan, four busses and several private cars, was on the road and thus caused little inconvenience. Through the courtesy of the University, each of the "tourists" was supplied with a very helpful guidebook for the trip, written by John W. Allen and containing sixteen pages of descriptive text and a two-page map of points of interest in an area fifty-five by twenty-five miles in the southwest corner of the state.

On the way south from Carbondale to Cairo, the group stopped near Makanda at the home of Colonel Ben L. Wiley, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars and long prominent in southern Illinois affairs. The first part of his home was built in 1826; it has been added to from time to time and has always been kept in repair.

At Cairo the city's annual Magnolia Festival was reaching its climax with a parade and the formal opening of the Mississippi River bridge to toll-free traffic by Governor William G. Stratton. The size of the Festival crowd would have interfered with the Society's tour of the city except for the police escort which was provided. In addition to seeing most of the historic sites, the group stopped at Magnolia Manor, home of the Cairo Historical Association, and the Rendelman home across Washington Avenue, which dates from 1865 and has a small private theater on its third floor. Luncheon was served at the Masonic Temple by members of the Cairo Order of the Eastern Star.

On leaving Cairo the caravan stopped at Mound City for a visit to the Civil War Naval Hospital, the century-old Marine Ways and the National Cemetery. On the return route they passed through Unity, one-time county seat of Alexander County, and by the Kornthal Church, built by German immigrants of the 1850's, to the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Jonesboro.

J. Frank Dobie of Texas, nationally known author and authority on the history and legends of the Southwest, spoke at the dinner in Woody Hall of Southern Illinois University that evening. His subject was "Literature and Lore of the Cowboy." J. Ward Barnes, president of the Society, presided. The String Ensemble of the University Music Department under the direction of John S. Wharton presented a musical program, as they had the evening before. There were 148 at the dinner, and approximately that number attended the other sessions of the two-day tour.

ANNUAL MEETING WILL BE AT VANDALIA

The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held at Vandalia on October 8 and 9. The program being planned under the direction of Joseph C. Burtschi, president of the Vandalia Historical Society, will include a visit to the State Penal Farm and sessions in the Hall of Representatives of the old Statehouse where Abraham Lincoln served as a representative from Sangamon County.

NEW SALEM STATUE DEDICATED

Governor William G. Stratton, in the name of the people of Illinois, accepted the Avard Fairbanks statute, "Abraham Lincoln from Illinois," from Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., president of the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers, in ceremonies at New Salem State Park on Monday afternoon, June 21. Following is the complete program of the presentation:

WAYNE C. TOWNLEY, Presiding

PRELUDE MUSIC	505th Air Force Band
	Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois
Chief Warrant Officer Sheldon W. Henry, Band Director	
"ILLINOIS"	Mrs. Dorothy Kimball Keddington
	Salt Lake City, Utah
	Accompanied by Mrs. Gladys Saurer, Bloomington, Illinois
INVOCATION	Virgil H. Smith
	Salt Lake City, Utah
"THE OCCASION"	Wayne C. Townley
	Bloomington, Illinois
"THE RESOLUTE LINCOLN"	Louis A. Warren
	Ft. Wayne, Indiana
REMARKS	Avard Fairbanks
	Salt Lake City, Utah
MUSIC	505th Air Force Band
"THE FLAG WITHOUT A STAIN".....	Mrs. Dorothy Kimball Keddington
THE DEDICATION "Abraham Lincoln from New Salem" ..	Bryant S. Hinckley
	Author and Historian, Salt Lake City, Utah
THE PRESENTATION OF THE STATUE.....	Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr.
	President, The National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah
THE UNVEILING	Mrs. Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr.
THE ACCEPTANCE	The Honorable William G. Stratton
	Governor of the State of Illinois



UNVEILING THE LINCOLN STATUE

At the New Salem State Park ceremonies on June 21, marking the presentation of the statue "Abraham Lincoln from New Salem" to the state, are shown, left to right: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., president of the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers, who made the presentation; Governor William G. Stratton, who received the statue for Illinois; Avard Fairbanks, the sculptor; Mrs. Frank W. Atkin, who assisted her sister Mrs. Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., in unveiling the statue; Mrs. Morgan; and Mrs. Avard Fairbanks.

SUMMER ENTERTAINMENT AT NEW SALEM

For the fourth successive year two interpretations of Abraham Lincoln's life are being presented this summer at the outdoor Kelso Hollow Theater of New Salem State Park.

Every night, except Mondays, from June 21 through August 12 and from August 31 through September 6 (Labor Day) the Actors Company of Chicago is giving E. P. Conkle's three-act play *Prologue to Glory*. This production is being sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League. The producer is Arthur Peterson, Jr., and the director Minnie Galatzer, both Chicagoans. On Monday nights the same sponsor and producer are presenting a dramatic staging of the poetic works of Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay under the title "Spoon River Speaks." From August 12 to 31 these productions will be presented in the ballroom of the Leland Hotel in Springfield.

The part of Lincoln in *Prologue to Glory* is being played by Del Yarnell of Chicago who had the title role in "Lincoln at New Salem," the 1953 drama of the New Salem League. The rest of the cast is composed principally of young professional actors, who are aided by non-professionals from the New Salem area. General admission prices to either of these productions are 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children; reserved seats are \$1.65 and \$1.10, and 50 cents for children. Curtain time is 7:45 P.M., daylight saving time.

Seven performances of Robert Sherwood's Pulitzer Prize play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* will be given at the Kelso Hollow Theater by the Abe Lincoln Players, Inc. of Springfield on August 19-22 (the last four nights of the Illinois State Fair) and August 27-29. The lead in this production will be played by State Representative G. William Horsley and the part of Stephen A. Douglas by Attorney S. Phil Hutchison, both of Springfield. They have had these roles in eight previous annual presentations. Admissions will be: adults, 75 cents; children, 25 cents.

JUNIOR HISTORIANS HONORED

Governor William G. Stratton presented Illinois Junior Historian of the Year awards to thirty-seven students of junior high school age before an audience of four hundred of their teachers, parents and classmates in ceremonies at the Centennial Building, Springfield, on Friday, May 14. In turn the Governor was given a leather-bound volume, containing the year's eight issues of the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, by Elwin W. Sigmund,

Director of the Junior Historian program, and Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian.

A special award, sponsored by the Illinois Department of Aeronautics and the Governor's Committee for the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Powered Flight, was made to the Junior Historian Club of Washington School, Dixon, which was represented at the ceremonies by Marian Woessner, Edward Saari and Kenneth Swan. Director of Aeronautics Joseph K. McLaughlin presented them a copy of the book *Flight, a Pictorial History of Aviation*, containing an appropriately printed bookplate. Members of the club had collaborated in writing the best article in the aviation issue of the magazine.

The ceremonies marked the completion of the seventh year of the Illinois Junior Historian program sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. This was the fifth time that awards were given. During the year some four thousand students in more than four hundred schools in 175 Illinois communities were regular readers of the magazine. They submitted nearly six hundred articles, drawings and photographs for publication, and 133 of these appeared in the *Junior Historian*.

One of the 1954 winners, Carol Johnson of East Junior High School, Alton, received her third successive award to become the first student so honored since the program began. Two others, Jannene La Ferte of Washington School, Dixon, and Kenneth Johnson of Harvard School for Boys, Chicago, had been cited last year, as was Elizabeth McKnight of Franklin Junior High School, Rock Island, in 1952.

The list of 1954 winners, from twenty-three schools in twenty communities, follows:

Alton: Carol Johnson, Judy Kerwin, Jane Noble and Martha Phelps, East Junior High School; Barbara Emmons and Peggy Gallagher, West Junior High School.

Arrowsmith: Ted Kinsell and Mary Woolley, Saybrook-Arrowsmith Junior High School.

Chicago: Kenneth Johnson, Wayne S. Zunas, and T. Gerald Magner, Jr., Harvard School for Boys. (Gerald Magner later transferred to Avoca School, Wilmette.)

Dixon: Jannene La Ferte and Edward Saari, Washington School.

Dwight: Bill Ervin and Diana Oughton, East Side School.

Eldorado: Pat Watson, Washington Junior High School.

Elmwood: Letitia Steer, Elmwood Grade School.

Freeport: Roger Myers, Freeport Junior High School.

Geneseo: Marcia Rivenburg, Geneseo Junior High School.

La Salle: Patrick Krolak and John Schott, Lincoln School.

Madison: Nancy McManaway, Madison Junior High School.

Moline: Charlsa Gaskin, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.
Normal: Terry Hess, Central School.
Oregon: Zita Bublitz and Joseph Reed, Jr., Oregon Elementary School.
Orion: Sharon Schillinger, Orion Grade School.
Princeton: Karen Rici, Logan Junior High School.
Rock Island: Rosalie McDowell and Linda Peterson, Central Junior High School; Elizabeth McKnight, Franklin Junior High School; Wes Cantrall and Bonnie Washabaugh, Washington Junior High School.
Rockford: Robert Gard, Washington Junior High School.
Vandalia: Terry Brown, Central Junior High School.
Waukegan: Winifred Hallen and John Stone, Andrew Cooke School.

CATTON TO COMPLETE LEWIS' BIOGRAPHY OF GRANT

The four-volume biography of Ulysses S. Grant which was begun by the late Lloyd Lewis will be completed by Bruce Catton under terms of a contract signed early this year by Mrs. Kathryn Lewis and Little, Brown & Company. Lewis' *Captain Sam Grant* was published in 1950. The contract calls for completion of the other three volumes at two-year intervals—1956, 1958 and 1960.

Catton is a former newspaperman and the author of *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (1951), *The Glory Road* (1952) and *A Stillness at Appomattox*, which won this year's Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award for history.

MACON COUNTY HISTORIAN DIES

Edwin David Davis, retired farmer and Macon County historian, died May 6, in the home east of Decatur in which he was born on July 9, 1876. He was the son of Sylvester and Mary Baker Davis, early Macon County settlers. Mr. Davis was actively interested in his county's history and had written a number of articles. Two of these, "The Hanks Family in Macon County" and "Lincoln and Macon County, Illinois, 1830-1831," appeared in publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, of which he was a member for a number of years. He had also belonged to the Macon County Historical Society and the Abraham Lincoln Association.

1954 CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

In 1953 more Illinois cities and towns celebrated centennials than in any previous year, but 1954 may surpass that record. Effingham, a century old in 1953, postponed its celebration until May 14-16 this year so that it would coincide with the dedication of the new St. Anthony's Hospital,

replacing the one destroyed on April 4-5, 1949 by a fire in which seventy-seven lives were lost.

Among the celebrants this year are:

Anna, July 2-5
Buda, July 3-5
Buffalo, May 1
Bushnell,
Chebanse, July 3-5
Dawson, July 24
Dwight, August 14-22
Effingham, May 14-16
Elwood,
Flora, July 4-9
Galva, July 28-August 1
Hamilton,
Kewanee, July 15-18
LaGrange,
Lansing, August 14-21
Lawndale, June 26-27
Minonk,
Mound City, June 20-27
Niantic, July 16-17
Onarga, July 2-5
Oneida, August 29-September 1
Pawnee, June 17-19
Plano,
Summerfield,
Sumner, July 2-5
Wapella, August
Winnebago, July 3-5

NEW STATE OFFICE BUILDING

Governor William G. Stratton, on February 15, turned the first spade of earth for the new state office building in Springfield. The structure, across the street west of the present Capitol, will fill most of the two-block area bounded by College, Monroe, Spring and Jackson streets, and will require about two years to complete. The \$12,500,000 building will be H-shaped and will afford space for state agencies now dispersed in nineteen various Springfield locations for which the state pays an annual rental of \$375,000.

MEMORIAL GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

The Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden Foundation held a two-day meeting and pilgrimage in Springfield on May 4 and 5. The group convened for its business meeting in the Circuit Court Room of the Sangamon

County Courthouse, where Lincoln made his "House Divided" speech. At a luncheon at the St. Nicholas Hotel on May 4, State Historian Harry E. Pratt spoke on "Lincoln's Springfield." Dr. Louis A. Warren addressed the banquet that evening in the Leland Hotel. His topic was "This Living Memorial."

Among places visited in the two days of pilgrimages were: Lincoln's Home and Tomb, the Springfield Art Association, the house and garden of Mr. and Mrs. Van Courtney Crane, the Executive Mansion (where tea was served), and New Salem State Park. A tour of the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden was the highlight. This was the first such pilgrimage conducted by the Foundation.

GALENA HISTORY IN RHYME

Thomas J. McCarthy of Galena has written and published a new booklet of rhyming historical descriptions of his home town. The ninety-seven-page, paper-backed volume, entitled *Lore of Old Galena*, contains thirty-eight poems ranging from half a page to five pages in length. Although the author says his "verses . . . are no gems of poetry," he has set down entertainingly many of the events, personages and folklore tales of his town from its beginning to the present. The current volume contains the verses published in the author's earlier compilation, *Rhythm of the River* (1942), and those published since then.

CENTURY-OLD UNDERTAKING FIRM

The Chicago undertaking company which had charge of the body of Abraham Lincoln while it was in that city on May 1 and 2, 1865, on its way to Springfield, observed its one hundredth anniversary in February. The firm, C. H. Jordan & Company, was founded by Collins H. Jordan who had come to Chicago from Piqua, Ohio, as the representative of a casket company. Several members of the Jordan family are still associated with the business.

The Jordan Company also had charge of the burial of 6,000 Confederate soldiers who died at Camp Douglas. Their place of interment was given as the City Cemetery which is now the site of Lincoln Park.

The Lincoln funeral train arrived on the Illinois Central tracks on the lake front at 11 A.M. on Monday, May 1. The casket was removed to a hearse—specially designed and built for the occasion by Coan and Ten Broecke—and the funeral procession made its way to the Cook County courthouse where the body was to lie in state. The newspapers of the following day mention that the public was excluded from the building until the under-

taker and his assistants had opened the casket and arranged the body for viewing. From about 4 P.M. Monday until 8 P.M. the following day the crowds filed through the courthouse halls, the total number being estimated at 125,000. At 8 P.M. on Tuesday the undertaker was called in to close the casket. It was returned to the train, then on the Chicago and Alton tracks, for the final stretch of its journey to Springfield.

The Jordan firm was established at 134 North Clark Street. In the past century it has moved three times and is now at 221 East Erie Street. One of these changes of address was caused by the Chicago Fire. Nevertheless, the firm was able to help in identifying and caring for the dead in that disaster as it did in the Iroquois Theater fire of 1903 and the capsizing of the *Eastland* in 1915.

Some of the notable Chicago citizens whose funerals have been conducted by the firm were Stephen A. Douglas, John Wentworth, Carter H. Harrison—both Senior and Junior—and William Hale Thompson.

A PERSONALIZED HISTORY

Lowell M. Greenlaw of Chicago, who retired in 1950 as vice-president and general counsel of Pullman, Inc., has written a personalized history covering some seventy years of Chicago and the Midwest which will be published this summer. Titled *Georgia Faye—Story of an American Family*, it is based on the life of his wife, the former Georgia Faye Harrison, and the changes that have taken place in the country during her lifetime. Greenlaw is the son of Thomas B. Greenlaw, founder of Orchard City College of Flora, about whom an article appeared in the Autumn, 1953, issue of this *Journal*. Before going to Chicago in 1905 Lowell M. Greenlaw operated a branch of the college at Olney and newspapers at Olney and Flora.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

"River Boats and the Mississippi" was the program theme at the March meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society. George Ritcher read a paper on Henry Shreve, the steamboat builder; Frank Worden spoke on "Water and Steam"; an excerpt from Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* was read by Fred W. Delano; and John Lemp discussed the earthquake of 1811 that violently affected the Mississippi.

At the Chicago Historical Society museum a collection of nickel-plated horseshoes was the March "Feature of the Month." The horseshoes, the

work of the late Charles F. Mundhenk, Chicago blacksmith, were a gift of Mrs. Charles J. Mundhenk, his daughter-in-law.

The showing of a new group of slides depicting early Woodlawn and the World's Columbian Exposition featured the meeting on May 14 of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). The Rev. Robert M. Herhold spoke on "What Makes a Man Great" at the February meeting. Officers elected at the latter meeting include: Henry Vernon Slater, president; Bernadine McLaughlin, vice-president; Mrs. P. A. Gray, recording secretary; Waunetah Manly, corresponding secretary; Myrtle Moulton, treasurer. The three new directors elected are: Mrs. Frank Lindsay, Mrs. H. D. Jones and Mrs. Clara Newling.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society met on May 2 at the Chicago Lawn Branch Library. The John F. Eberhart School was discussed. Both the school and Eberhart Avenue were named for John F. Eberhart, the founder of the Chicago Lawn community. Mrs. Anna Mumford Fritzell spoke on "Reminiscences of a Pedagogue." The library had exhibits of a historical nature, and refreshments were served with members of the Eberhart P. T. A. acting as hostesses.

Officers of the Society include: Mrs. Helena Hamel, honorary president; Richard O. Helwig, president; Howard Crane, first vice-president; August Schlieske, second vice-president; Mrs. B. J. Glidewell, treasurer; Helga Nielsen, historian; Mrs. Ruth E. Walsh, secretary.

J. King Eaton spoke at the November meeting of the Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society. His topic was "Thanksgiving as Celebrated in Our Community Years Ago."

At the January meeting Fire Chief Dennis Hentz gave a history of the Edwardsville Fire Department. His talk was illustrated with pictures of the town's old fire-fighting equipment.

Mrs. W. H. Morgan, a life-long resident of Edwardsville, died suddenly on May 5. She was active in historical and patriotic organizations and a charter member and past president of the Edwardsville Chapter. She was also a member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Since moving to its new quarters at 1735 East Railroad Avenue, the Evanston Historical Society has been soliciting additional memberships to cover increased financial needs. Mrs. George McClay is curator.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt addressed a meeting of the Fulton County Historical Society in Lewistown on April 1. He outlined the steps necessary to put the organization in working order. Officers of this new group include: Fred E. Hand, president; Gilman Davidson, vice-president; Kathleen Hollister, secretary-treasurer. Nearly fifty persons attended the meeting.

Geneva Historical Society members at their March meeting heard John Gustafson, author of a history of Batavia, give a talk on its highlights. In May a plaque was presented to the Scott Davis family to mark their historic house, built by Charles Patten, Geneva's first merchant. Dr. Charles Lytle showed his collection of pictures of historic buildings of Chicago and vicinity.

John T. Flanagan addressed a recent meeting of the Greene County Historical Society in Greenfield. He discussed the contributions made to the state and nation by three Illinois men: James Hall, John Mason Peck and John Russell. Dr. Flanagan was introduced to the group by Mrs. Howard Hobson of Greenfield, who is a granddaughter of Russell.

Officers of the Jefferson County Historical Society, elected in December, are: Mrs. Earl Hanes, president; A. Paul Fellinger, vice-president; Mrs. Philip Newkirk, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Stanley Rosenberger, director.

Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Dearinger showed colored slides of scenic and historic spots in southern Illinois at the group's March meeting. The program was held in the Casey Junior High School, Mt. Vernon.

In December the Lake County Historical Society chose the following officers: Governor William G. Stratton, honorary president; James R. Getz, president; Mrs. Bess T. Dunn, Richard W. Hantke and John W. Shaw, vice-presidents; Edward Arpee, secretary; M. Dutton Morehouse, treasurer. The Society's directors are: Larry M. Crawford, Winston Elting, Charles A. Hunt, Ray T. Nicholas, Marjorie Porter, Mrs. George A. Ranney, Jr., Hermon D. Smith, Nell Steele and Robert Tieken.

The Society's headquarters have been moved from Lake Forest College to the Lake Forest Library where its material is now available to the public.

Dr. R. C. Slater spoke on "Lincoln and the Fifth Column" at a meeting of the La Salle County Historical Society in Mendota last February. Mrs.

Henry L. Uhlenhop, treasurer, reported that the organization had 123 members. Lyle Yeck spoke to the group in Streator on May 16 about the history of that community.

The fifth annual meeting of the Logan County Historical Society was held at the high school in Middletown on March 14. Earle Benjamin Searcy, clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court, was the principal speaker. Mr. Searcy's address dealt with Logan County history. Mrs. Doris Carter read an essay, "History of Middletown."

James T. Hickey was elected president of the group and E. H. Lukenbill, vice-president. Other officers, re-elected, are: George A. Volle, treasurer, and Judge William S. Ellis, secretary.

Ben F. Chestnut of Middletown has presented to the Society a large woolen American flag, made by the women of Middletown and carried by the town's delegation at a Republican rally for Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, August 8, 1860. Later in the day the flag is said to have been used to drape the carriage in which Lincoln rode out to the old State Fairgrounds. The venerable banner is six by ten feet and has thirty-four stars.

The restoration of the Postville Courthouse in Lincoln is nearing completion.

The spring meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held in Collinsville on May 16. Speakers and their topics included: Karl L. Monroe, "Highlights in the History of Collinsville"; Virginia Blum, "The Story of the Collinsville Bell Shop"; and Irving Dilliard, "Dr. Henry Wing: Collinsville's First Physician." The Dilliard family now lives in the house built by Dr. Wing in 1852. The Madison County Society holds two general meetings every year, and is open to anyone interested in Madison County history. No dues or fees are assessed.

Sergeant Ralph D. Meyer spoke to the Mattoon Historical Society in February on "My Three Years with the Communists." Sergeant Meyer was an American prisoner of war of the Communists in Korea.

The March program was devoted to historical sketches of the city's schools by principals or teachers.

An educational and historical film, "The Perfect Tribute," was shown in April. It dealt with incidents leading up to the writing and delivery of the Gettysburg Address.

The Morgan County Historical Society had a dinner meeting on April 29 at the Dunlap Hotel, Jacksonville. Mrs. Dorothy Grabill spoke on "Historic Places in Jacksonville." Miss Frances Bailey of the Public Library explained the need for microfilming the Jacksonville newspapers. William L. Fay spoke on Illinois College—now celebrating its one hundred twenty-fifth year.

A charter of incorporation has recently been issued to the Ogle County Historical Society and the membership drive is on. The Oregon Public Library has offered to house any historical material that may be acquired.

The Oglesby Historical Society is another recently organized group. It particularly seeks printed matter dealing with the early days of Oglesby—photographs, books, pamphlets and newspapers. Persons having any such old records are asked to bring them to Mrs. Vivian Moyle at the Oglesby Public Library.

Officers of the Peoria Historical Society are: Haskell Armstrong, president; W. B. Philip, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; and E. C. Bessler, treasurer. The organization, which was recently incorporated, has operated as an association since 1934. In March Abe Kahn gave the history of the Peoria Gas Works—a one-time vital utility plant which is now being prepared for dismantling.

A meeting of the Riverside Historical Society was held on April 30 at the Riverside Public Library. Pictures of old Riverside homes and other views of the community were shown with appropriate commentary.

Clair V. Golden was re-elected president of the Rock Island County Historical Society at the annual meeting held at the Watch Tower Inn on May 17. Other officers are: Clarence Skinner, first vice-president; Charles Ainsworth, second vice-president; Roy Ballard, treasurer; Ina Dunlap, secretary; Helen Marshall, archivist; John H. Hauberg, curator. Mr. Hauberg and C. R. Rosborough were named honorary president and vice-president respectively.

Following the dinner Dr. Edward Hamming of the department of geography at Augustana College spoke on "Preservation and Conservation of State and Local Resources."

Louis Aaron was elected president of the Saline County Historical Society in February. Other officers are: Scerial Thompson, first vice-president; Mrs. Fred Lindsay, second vice-president; Mrs. Ila Choisser, third vice-president; James Bond, assisted by Mrs. Bond, secretary. Board members chosen include: Ray Altmire, George Davenport, W. H. Farley, John Foster, Fred Wasson and E. B. Webster.

Principal speakers at the February meeting were Dr. Harold E. Briggs and Dr. Norman Caldwell, both of Southern Illinois University.

At the March meeting Tommy Davenport gave his impressions of the countries in Europe he saw while in service. His talk was accompanied by colored slides.

In April Robin Wasson gave a short history of Bald Knob. This was followed by a panel discussion, "Are We Due for Another Depression?" by Judy Belt, Mona Wickham, Judy Morris, Charles Polk and Jimmie Durham.

The annual spring meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held in Harrisburg on May 14 at the First Christian Church. The principal speaker was Dr. Harold E. Briggs, whose subject was "Entertainment and Amusements in Cairo, Illinois, 1848-1858." He was followed by James Bond, who spoke on "Early American Firearms" and exhibited firearms from his private collection. Louis Aaron showed colored slides of scenic and historic sites in southern Illinois, and John Foster displayed photographs. A reception and tea concluded the meeting. Officers of the Saline County Historical Society were hosts to the group.

Six directors were elected at the tenth annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society. The following were chosen for a three-year term: Mrs. E. G. McCulloch, Mrs. Robert F. Koenig, Mrs. Frank M. Keck, A. L. Riche and Lee Madden. Frederic J. Perkins was chosen to fill out the unexpired term of the late Ruth Hughes.

Guest speaker at the April meeting was Cal Tyler who described some of the early trails in northwestern Illinois. Annual reports were heard and a social hour followed.

The annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford was held on March 21. Officers of the group are: Martin R. Wall, president; Carl P. Sandstrom, Axel Ney, Mrs. Elsa Nyberg and Mrs. Alida Carlson, vice-presidents; Herman G. Nelson, secretary; and Arvid V. Peterson, treasurer.

The group extended an invitation to Dr. Yngve Brilioth, archbishop of Upsala and primate of the Lutheran Church of Sweden, to speak to the Society in August when he will be attending the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston.

The Society also voted to establish an Augustana College Scholarship Fund with part of the proceeds of the Augustana Choir concert held in Rockford on April 1.

Officers of the Vandalia Historical Society are: Joseph C. Burtschi, president; Mrs. B. W. Perkins, secretary; C. F. Houston, treasurer. The Society has more than sixty paid memberships and has affiliated with the Illinois State Historical Society. Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke to the group on May 12. He discussed plans for the state Society's fall meeting which will be held in Vandalia on October 8 and 9.

Robert Hayward addressed the Wayne County Historical Society in March on "Hayward College." He showed some old class pictures. The meeting was held at the First Methodist Church in Fairfield.

The group met in the Wayne City High School library in April. N. W. Draper spoke on the life and occupations of early county pioneers. Donnie Wood sang early religious songs, and the Garner Family Quartette furnished special music.

The Society will print each year a booklet of twenty to twenty-five pages containing the best papers written by its members during the year. The booklets will sell for \$1.00. Orders may be sent to Lila Stonemetz, secretary of the Society and public librarian at Fairfield. Wasson W. Lawrence is president of the Society.

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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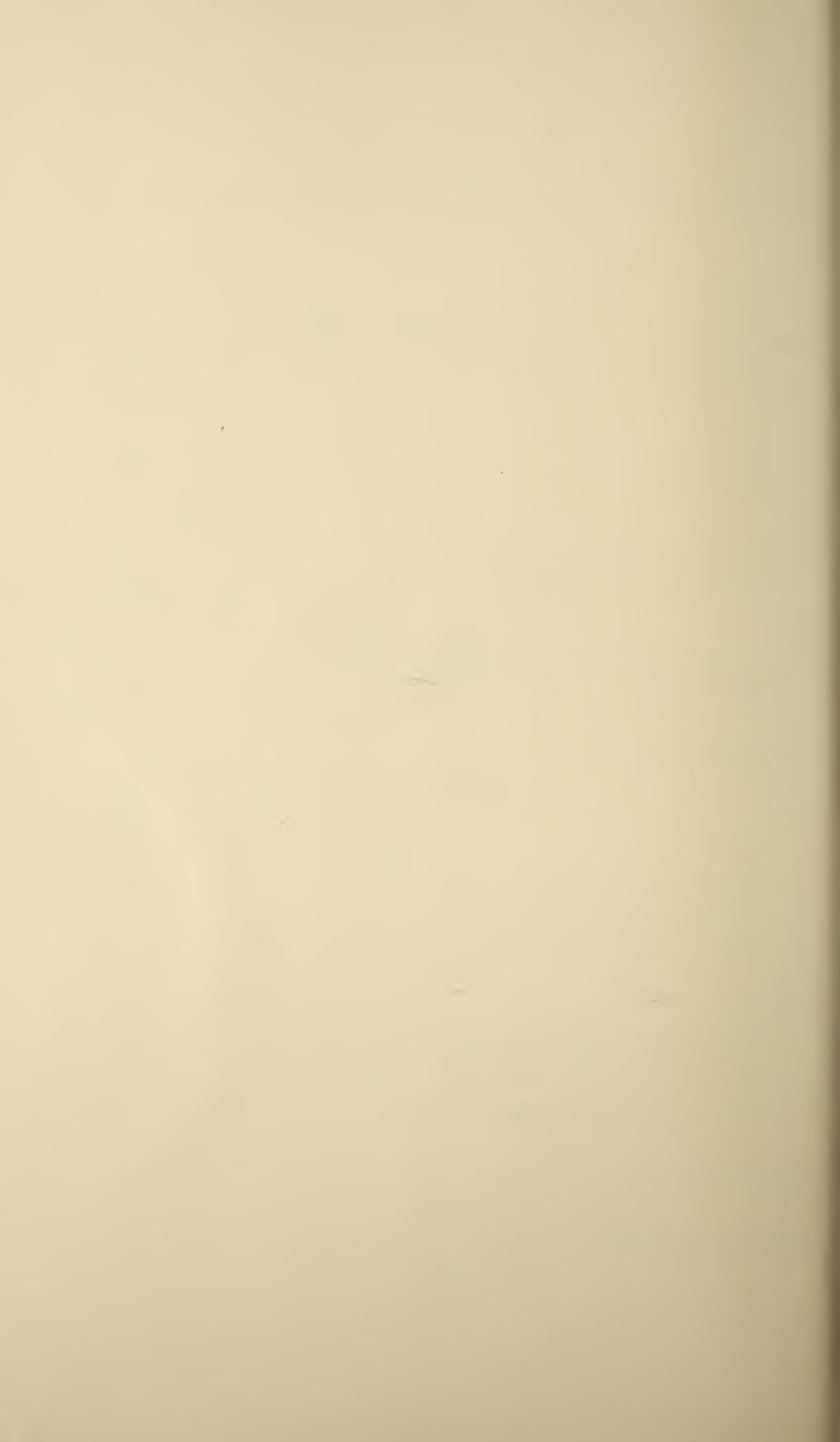
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ENTERTAINMENT AND AMUSEMENT IN CAIRO, 1848-1858

BY HAROLD E. BRIGGS

CAIRO, Illinois, located at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, had its beginnings in the early part of the nineteenth century. Although boomed by townsite promoters in good frontier style as destined to become the "Metropolis of the West," its growth at first was slow and by 1850 its population was only 242. During the following decade, however, influenced by heavy steamboat traffic and completion of the Illinois Central Railroad, it grew rapidly and according to the census of 1860 had 2,188 inhabitants.

Cairo, with its large floating population, was a good show town and soon attracted entertainers of every sort. The inhabitants craved recreation and amusement, and flocked in large numbers to see circuses, menageries, museums, minstrel and variety troupes, tight rope walkers, magicians, phrenologists and all types of musical programs. They welcomed theatrical troupes and were interested in their own lyceum organizations. While Cairo doubtless had itinerant entertainers in the late 1830's and early 1840's, no record exists regarding them.¹

¹ The *Gazette*, Cairo's first newspaper, founded in 1841, lasted only a short time and no files are known to be extant. The first issue of the *Cairo Delta*, edited by A. H. Sanders, appeared on April 13, 1848. Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VI, Springfield, 1910), 35.

Harold E. Briggs is chairman of the Department of History at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Preparation of this paper was made possible in part by a research grant from the University.

The most popular type of amusement along the river and in the sparsely populated areas of the early West was the circus. Its appeal was broad and attendance on the frontier was usually good. Traveling at first by horse and wagon, advantage was soon taken of the steamboat, and later railroad transportation was used.²

The first record of a circus performance in Cairo was a two-thirds column advertisement in the *Cairo Delta* on July 6, 1848 announcing that Rockwell and Company's Circus would present its "Immense and talented Equestrian Establishment" and the rest of its strong and "brilliant talent" in a performance on July 10 at Ohio City on the Missouri side of the Mississippi. Transportation was available to those in Cairo who wished to attend. The advertisement spoke in glowing terms of the wide variety of offerings—"pageantries, tournaments, cavalcades," acrobats, gymnasts, clowns, and music by the Queen City Brass Band. Particular attention was called to Hiram W. Franklin and the "beautiful and talented Master Wm. Grady" as fine equestrian performers, to Mr. Lake with his trained dogs and to Franklin and Mrs. Lake on the slack wire. The whole was to be concluded by a "laughable afterpiece." The performance was to start at two o'clock with admission prices of fifty cents for the boxes and twenty-five cents for the pit. Children under twelve would be admitted to the boxes at half price, but no reduction would be made for the pit. The following week's *Delta* makes no mention of the performance.

The next circus arrived in the summer of 1849 when the Southwestern Circus of J. C. Stokes presented its offerings at Ohio City. It featured Eaton Stone, "the most astounding bareback rider," James Buckley, "the shipwrecked sailor," Bill

² John Robinson of Little Falls, New York, is said to have taken the first tented circus across the Alleghenies in 1824. His performances, offered under a seventy-foot canvas tent, included clowns, tight and slack rope walkers and other special features; later acrobats and fancy equestrian acts were added. Robinson's show was transported by three wagons and five horses. Early menageries were separate from the circuses. Richardson Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America* (Philadelphia, 1927), 193-95.

ROCKWELL & CO.'S CIRCUS.



Courtesy C. A. Wilkins, Cairo, Illinois

CIRCUS ADVERTISING IN 1848

This is an enlargement of a drawing that appeared at the head of a column in the *Cairo Delta* on July 6, 1848. While the size of the illustration and the type below it are very modest the wording of the text shows that "circus advertising" was already well launched. The text begins: "The proprietors of this immense and talented Equestrian Establishment take great pleasure in announcing . . . the approaching performance of the unrivalled Troupe."

Lake's St. Bernard dogs and Starck's celebrated brass band. Admission prices were the same as the year before and the public was urged to attend. Although the steamboat carried nearly a hundred persons to Ohio City from Cairo, the editor

reported that the show was not well attended because the people in the "country back" feared cholera.³

The *Cairo Sun* predicted that September 17, 1851, would be a "red letter day" as two circuses would perform in town on that date. These were the Rockwell Circus and the Southwestern, usually known as Stokes' Circus. The former starred the "World-Renowned" A. Rockwell, the Yankee Clown; W. Walker, the "Great European Gymnast," and Signor Lui Germani, the "pride of the Italian Arena." There were to be two excellent bands to entertain the public. The editor, urging his readers to attend, wrote: "Life is uncertain and you or Rockwell *may die*, . . . come one, come all."⁴ The Southwestern presented about the same performers as in 1849, with the exception of "Herr Alexander, the Great Magician," who received special emphasis in the advertisement. Both shows must have had good crowds, as the *Sun* commented the next day: "Our city was as full of life and bustle on yesterday as a bee hive. The . . . fact that two circuses would exhibit here on the same day, woke up all the surrounding neighborhoods and convened more folks than we have seen in a 'coon's age' before."⁵

During the next few years many circuses appeared. Some which presented several exhibitions were Spaulding and Rogers', H. M. Smith's and Madigan's. The banner year seems to have been 1856, when each of these three performed twice and several minor shows presented their offerings.⁶

When the H. M. Smith Circus appeared late in May, 1856, the editor of the *Times and Delta* wondered "where so many people came from." He was pleased to see such a large number

³ *Cairo Delta*, July 12, 1849. After the demise of the *Delta* on Sept. 30, 1849, Cairo was without a newspaper until the *Sun* was founded on April 10, 1851. It lasted only a year, and there was again no paper in the city till the first issue of the *Cairo City Times* appeared on May 31, 1854.

⁴ *Cairo Sun*, Sept. 11, 1851. There was no consistent policy regarding news items about performances, available space and the editor's feelings probably being the deciding factors.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1851.

⁶ *Cairo Times and Delta*, 1856, *passim*. All *Times and Delta* references not otherwise specified are to the weekly edition.

of ladies in attendance and reported that the performance was better than that of the general run of traveling shows.⁷ Smith's "Great American Circus equipped and designed for the leading exhibit of 1856" was announced to perform again on Saturday, August 16. There was to be a "Brass and String Band" and many new acts, featuring H. M. Smith in his "celebrated Shakespearean Act, Falstaff, Shylock, and Richard III" as well as H. A. Gardiner, the "Great American Clown," who concluded his portion of the show with "A Countryman's Visit to the Circus."⁸

On September 7, 1856, Madigan's "incomparable circus" made an appearance and "though it rained nearly all the afternoon and evening, the large pavillion was crowded to its utmost capacity." The editor called it "one of the best if not the very best now traveling through the country. Every performer is perfect and complete in his or her part." Miss Rosa Madigan, "a graceful and daring rider," was the feature of the performance. Some of her St. Louis friends were so pleased with her that she was presented with a silver goblet valued at \$35 and a horse worth \$350.⁹

H. M. Smith's "big top" visited Cairo again on June 24, 1857, and Spaulding and Rogers on November 18 of the same year. The two performances were enthusiastically received, the tricks of the elephants being the best the editor had ever seen.¹⁰ On April 22, 1858 the Spaulding and Rogers show on the *Floating Palace*¹¹ docked a few miles below Cairo where it planned to remain for several days. "Everybody was ready

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1856.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1856.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1856.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 25, Dec. 2, 1857.

¹¹ The *Floating Palace* was a large flatboat consisting of a superstructure built on a keel-bottomed barge. With its exterior painted red and gold and its lavish interior, it was considered "palatial" even in that period of elaborate steamboats. It was usually propelled by the steamer *James Raymond* (see note 15). These boats operated in the Mississippi Valley from St. Paul to New Orleans, also visiting towns along the Ohio. They are described at some length in Joseph S. Schick, "Early Showboat and Circus in the Upper Valley," *Mid-America* (Oct., 1950), 211-25. See also Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley," *ibid.* (July, 1949), 131-62.

who could borrow a half dollar," wrote the editor, and the "performances were filled to capacity."¹²

While the frontier editor was usually liberal with praise for most types of entertainment, there were occasions upon which he assumed a highly critical attitude, especially when he had not been patronized for advertising and printing. A case in point was the *Times and Delta's* report that

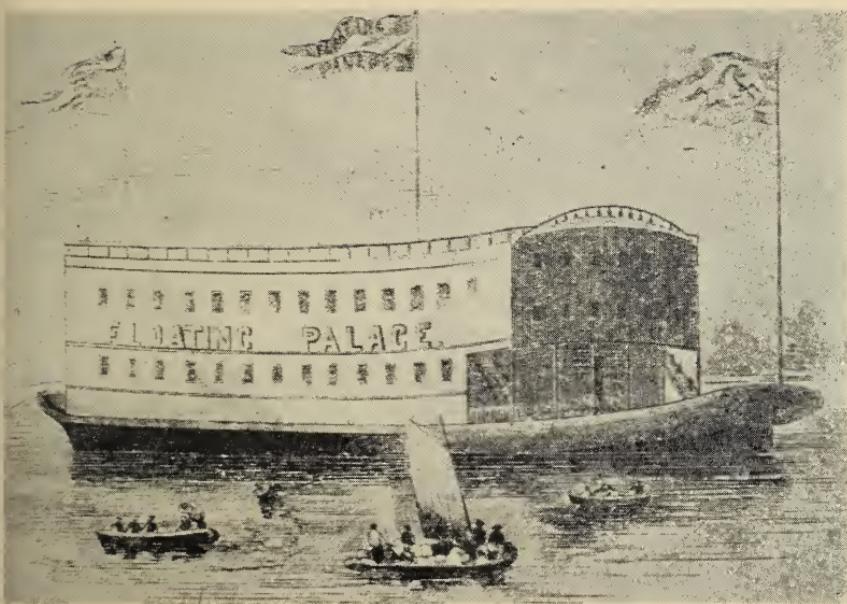
Washburn's "Big Injun" circus, or what purported to be a circus, performed in Cairo Saturday night [June 21, 1856]. The performance—as is usual with all amusements in Cairo—was crowded to excess, and the managers must have realized a handsome sum by it, a result which was not justified by their liberality to the town, as they ignored the printers and every one but the town clerk. But they paid their license, being thereunto compelled.

The show was reportedly unsatisfactory—they did not have "a single good rider or horse," the clown's jokes were stale, and the "four or five yellow-faced, long-haired, slim legged, consumptive, aborigines—or charitably supposed to be such" were farcical and ridiculous.¹³

Early in August, 1857 the Cairo press told of a "muss" at Mound City, a short distance above Cairo on the Ohio, where several local citizens under the influence of "too much mean whisky" started a quarrel and were ejected from the Spaulding and Rogers circus. They and their friends from the various saloons along the levee obtained a small cannon and threatened to fire on the boat, but were dissuaded by the mayor. Numerous fights occurred after the *Floating Palace* departed. An employee connected with the boat was accidentally left behind, and it was only with great difficulty that he escaped the mob. A group of Mound City citizens met the next day and sent apologies to the circus officials for what had happened. Commenting on the episode, the Cairo editor stated that he had "never witnessed a more disgraceful scene" and that "if the Cairo boys had been so very indignant . . . they

¹² *Cairo Times and Delta*, April 14, 21, 28, May 5, 1858.

¹³ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1856.



A FAMOUS CIRCUS SHOWBOAT

The Spaulding and Rogers *Floating Palace* was thirty-five feet wide and nearly two hundred feet long—larger than the biggest river steamers of the day. It had a capacity of 3,400 spectators, plus standees who were allowed to look in the many windows for half price.

would not have wasted time in talking, nor would they have asked for a cannon, but would have boarded the boat, and whipped or got whipped." When the show was presented at Cairo, the *Times and Delta* was very careful to point out that the town had been publicly thanked by the management for its courteous treatment of the performance and the personnel, in contrast to what happened in Mound City.¹⁴

Other types of entertainment were also active and popular in the river town. On November 9, 10 and 11, 1854 there were three performances by a "talented troupe of Ethiopian performers" under the management of Ned Davis on the steamer *James Raymond*, which had been "fitted up expressly

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1857. Frontier editors were inclined to be critical of their neighbors and to "puff" their own towns. If there were any similar disturbances at Cairo, they might never have been reported in the local press.

for concert purposes."¹⁵ The show was well received; the company sang well and "their ethiopian delineations cannot be surpassed." Ned Davis won much applause and was a Cairo favorite for a number of years.¹⁶

On February 28, 1855 it was announced that the "farewell visit" of Van Amburgh's menagerie of more than 150 animals including a giraffe more than seventeen feet in height and "of most striking beauty of form and color" aboard the *Floating Palace* would occur in Cairo on March 10. This was doubtless Isaac Van Amburgh, the famous lion tamer, who was well known throughout the country. The editor stressed that this was "positively the last visit of the menagerie," as the *Palace* "must be in Cincinnati in April to receive the North American Museum, a collection of more than 500,000 modern and antique curiosities" which it planned to exhibit in the principal towns on "southern and western waters."¹⁷

The *Cairo City Times* puffed the Van Amburgh menagerie as the "largest collection of animals in the world." The "far-famed subduer of Wild Animals will enter the Dens of his trained Lions, Tigers and Leopards, &c., and go through his thrilling performances." At the close of "his Daring Exhibition, each afternoon, the Animals will be fed in the presence of the audience. . . .

The Rhi-no-ce-russ' he'll be thar,
The Monkey and the Polar bar.

¹⁵ With only one deck, all space aboard this 275-ton craft was carefully utilized. The entertainers' staterooms were also used as dressing rooms; there was a gallery, mess hall, laundry and quarters for the crew. Its concert hall, the "Ridotto Saloon," according to a contemporary, was used for "lighter entertainment" and was of great elegance and convenience. Ralph Keller, *Vagabond Adventures* (Boston, 1872), *passim*.

¹⁶ *Cairo City Times*, Nov. 8, 15, 1854.

¹⁷ Since the American circus was merging with the menagerie into one attraction, this announcement of the last visit of Van Amburgh's menagerie to Cairo in 1855 was significant. The menagerie had its beginnings in the colonial period, and the first elephant was landed in America in April, 1776. Thaddeus and Gerald Crane and Nathan Howe crossed the Alleghenies with their menagerie in 1831 and toured as far south as Mobile. The first joint exhibition of a circus and menagerie at one price of admission and owned by the same proprietor was in 1851; before that time they were separate and distinct attractions, and the menagerie was exhibited only in the daytime. Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, 192-95; W. A. Coup, *Sawdust and Spangles* (Chicago, 1901), 140-42.

So boys save up your dimes—you'll never get another opportunity to see them, as this is the last visit they will ever make to the south." Admission to the menagerie was fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children and servants.¹⁸ Immediately after the performance on the *Palace* a grand concert was advertised to be given aboard the *James Raymond* in the "Ridotto Saloon" by Reed's Minstrels "assisted by the incomparable Ned Davis, and the beautiful Danseuse, Mrs. E. Davis." Admission to the concert was twenty-five cents for adults and fifteen cents for children and servants. The editor was enthusiastic about the performances and urged his readers to attend both presentations as evidence of their appreciation. A good crowd was reported.¹⁹

The two boats were in town again about the middle of August, 1855, at which time the *Floating Palace* presented its museum and a concert for instruction and amusement. There was a complete zoological exhibition of stuffed animals and birds, including "every wild and rare animal existing in Europe, Asia, Africa and America"; a gallery of life-size historical figures dressed in the costumes of their times, an exhibit of hundreds of ancient and Indian war weapons, and many other items including 150 oil paintings. After the exhibition on the *Palace* there was a program of singing and dancing by "male and female artists" on board the *Raymond*.²⁰ The same show was in Cairo on October 5 and November 5.²¹

The two boats returned to Cairo in April, 1856, featuring Madame Olinza, "the world renowned tight rope performer" and S. K. G. Nellis, "the man without arms, who does wonders with his toes." The *Times and Delta* printed glowing reports of the large audiences and their reception of the various offerings.²² The *Palace* and the *Raymond* visited Cairo at least three

¹⁸ *Cairo City Times*, Feb. 28, March 7, 1855.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 7, 14, 1855.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 15, 1855.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, Oct. 31, 1855.

²² *Cairo Times and Delta*, April 9, 16, 23, 1856.

times in each of the years 1856, 1857 and 1858, changing their acts and exhibitions from time to time. In 1857 Mr. Kneeland's violin was "decidedly the trump card," with Madame Evarts bringing down the house as a fancy dancer, and Mike Lipman, "the inimitable little clown." In March, 1858 the "Famous Fenton" was advertised as being able to walk on the ceiling upside down, and a well-known sleight-of-hand performer also received wide publicity. In May Monsieur Eugene Godard participated in a balloon ascension which drew large crowds from a wide area. One of the most popular attractions on the *Palace* was the so-called "Mystery of the Invisible Lady." It consisted of a large hollow brass ball, from which four trumpets protruded, suspended inside a brass railing. Questions could be asked by members of the audience, speaking directly into the trumpets. A person hidden under the deck apparently answered by speaking through the railing tubing which was hollow. The device always seemed to attract a large crowd of spectators and is mentioned on various occasions in the Cairo press.²³

Although the *Palace* was advertised at times as carrying a regular stock company "that was prepared to present any legitimate play from *Hamlet* to *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*"²⁴ there are no records of its offering any straight dramatic performances in Cairo. The two boats carried as many as one hundred persons as entertainers and employees. They also had on board "a power-printing press, upon which a daily paper is published and which is kept in operation during the exhibition for the inspection of the curious."²⁵

The *Banjo*, a small steamer constructed for show purposes,

²³ *Ibid.*, 1856-1858, *passim*.

²⁴ *Davenport (Iowa) Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1854; *Minneapolis (Minn.) Gazette*, May 20, 27, 1858.

²⁵ *Cairo Delta*, Aug. 8, 1855. This paper, edited by Leonard G. Faxon, was started on July 4, 1855, and apparently had no connection with Sanders' *Delta* of 1848-1849. On Nov. 28, 1855, it merged with the *City Times* into the *Times and Delta*. The *Delta's* half-column advertisement of the programs to be presented on Aug. 18 probably accounts for the editor's attitude toward the press on the *Palace*. According to the *Times and Delta* of April 23, 1856, this paper was called the *Palace Journal*, "a neat little daily."

was active along the Mississippi for several years, appearing at Cairo from time to time. The boat was launched at Cincinnati on October 24, 1855, and specialized in variety entertainments of the minstrel type with spectacular exhibitions on certain occasions.²⁶ Early in December the *Times and Delta* carried an advertisement to the effect that "the new steamer *Banjo*" would appear on the seventh, featuring the Ned Davis Minstrels in two exhibitions at the landing. The editor commented: "The *Banjo* is a new boat, fitted up expressly for the purpose, and Ned Davis—everybody knows, is the 'most completest' and 'most sublimest' negro delineator now extant. Of course, he will be liberally patronized—people can't help going to see and hear him."²⁷ The following issue spoke in glowing terms of the two-day appearance of the *Banjo*, highly commending the "unapproachable" Ned Davis; Levi Brown, "the Accordeon man," who "has no match in the world"; Woodruff, the violinist, who "has but few . . . superiors"; Master Adams, the ballad singer; Plato, the cornetist; and Weed, "who makes the 'dry bones shake' is a first rate simple nigger, and does his part up *brown*." The enthusiastic editor closed his remarks, "We have witnessed the performance of many Ethiopian companies, but we think Ned Davis' Olio Minstrels ahead of them all."²⁸ The attitude of the public is well brought out by an event that took place at the close of the *Banjo's* short stay:

The grand after piece of the *Banjo* troupe was played on Saturday night. A number of the town boys collected at Stewart's Arcade, where they were joined by Ned Davis, Slocum, Johnny Adams, Woodruff, Brown and Plato, of the Olio band. Stewart set before them a capital oyster supper, with champagne fixins. . . . Woodruff played the Carnival of Venice in a style unequalled on the Western waters; Adams sang some of his beautiful ballads;

²⁶ The *Banjo*, built of wood, with a square stern, no gallery and a plain head, was 115 feet in length, 25 feet wide and drew about four feet of water. It had a large stage and adequate scenery and could seat an audience of 800. It traveled as far north as St. Paul and as far up the Missouri as Kansas City. Schick, "Early Showboat and Circus," 220-21; Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs, "The Theatre in Early Kansas City," *Mid-America* (April, 1950), 94; *Davenport Gazette*, July 4, 11, 1856; *Minneapolis Gazette*, July 14, Aug. 4, 11, 1857.

²⁷ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Dec. 5, 1855.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1855.

Slocum gave "Sad News from Home"; Brown's Accordeon and the voices of Davis and Plato chimed in most sweetly

"And so, with wine and wit, and song and laughter,
The elder hours departed, one by one,"

Until twelve o'clock or thereabouts.

Stewart kept a sharp look-out to replenish the supply of edibles, and Jim Kennedy's "eagle eye" was constantly on the watch for empty glasses and to prevent heel-taps. All . . . were ready to "bet their heads" on Stewart's Arcade and Ned Davis's Olio band.²⁹

On June 4, 1856, the *Banjo* and the Ned Davis company were in town featuring Madame Adelphe, said to be one of the most fascinating danseuses in the West. The *Times and Delta* commented: "The company is certainly unequaled on Western Waters and hardly surpassed elsewhere." The *Banjo* with the "inimitable Ned Davis and his whole gang of performers" visited Cairo twice in October, 1857. The editor, with his usual enthusiasm, said: "We believe Ned to be the most perfect delineator of Negro characters now extant. His sayings are the most completely 'niggerish' (if we may be allowed that expression) and his jokes and anecdotes extremely original."³⁰

Early in May, 1858 the *Banjo* was again at the Cairo wharf featuring a famous sleight-of-hand performer, and returned on September 8 with the Rich Minstrels and the Great Monkey Circus, whose animal acts "absolutely astonished" the editor.³¹

The *James Raymond*, the *Floating Palace* and the *Banjo* were not the only showboats that stopped at the Cairo levee. A "flat-boat show" on January 18, 1855 which "purported to be the burning of Moscow" was quite disappointing to the editor of the *City Times*, who described it as a series of "badly executed feats of legerdemain," a Punch and Judy show "concluding with an enormous conflagration of something" that smelled like turpentine, after which "the green curtain dropped." A number of "old motheaten animals" were on ex-

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1856; Oct. 14, 28, 1857.

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 5, Sept. 8, 15, 1858.

hibition, the admission fee for the entire performance being fifty cents. In the editor's opinion this was taking money under false pretenses.³² About a year later the flatboat *Clara* presented a mixed program for two weeks. "Old Church," according to the editor, gave an excellent show which pleased everybody. "Everybody go . . ." ran the press account, "and see for yourself."³³ Early in December, 1856 the steamer *Amazon*, with her calliope music, was in town. According to the report, "'Pop goes the weazel,' was excruciatingly executed. . . . Either the whistles were out of tune, or the 'organist' was."³⁴

Some tent shows were advertised that were not circuses. One of the more important of these presented a performance on the Cairo levee on October 24, 1854. It was a mixed show featuring a sleight-of-hand expert, "The Fakir of Siva"; Madame Elizabeth, a favorite dancer; Monsieur Kendall, a celebrated violinist; and the "World Renowned" ventriloquist Professor Riley. Doors were to open at half past six with tickets selling for fifty cents. While the next issue of the *City Times* highly praised the program, which carried away from Cairo \$150 to \$200 in cash, the editor was inclined to bemoan the popularity of an exhibition which featured an artist who "got a young man . . . drunk, and induced him to play poker."³⁵

On November 12, 1855 a grand concert was held at the Taylor House. A great placard floated over the hotel telling the public that "Leon Grover, Tosso, Kunkel, and the Percivals" were in town. Although the editor attended with some misgivings, his report on the performance was highly enthusiastic:

We have had monstrous museums, gorgeous circuses, immense menageries, splendid puppet shows, wonderful magicians, incomparable nigger singers, the ne plus ultra of dancing girls, and the E Pluribus Unum of almost all

³² *Cairo City Times*, Jan. 24, 1855.

³³ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Jan. 2, 9, 16, 1856.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1858.

³⁵ *Cairo City Times*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 1854.

kinds of shows, but never until last Monday night did we have the sine qua non of pure, unadulterated, scientific music. Cairo is indeed improving, when the first violinist of the West honors her with his presence, and delights her with his music. . . . It is a great treat in this Western country, to hear such a violinist as Tosso, and we think that no one begrudged his half dollar.³⁶

One Friday afternoon in November, 1855, an exhibition by a wire walker attracted a large audience and was given special notice by the press. At three o'clock, at the corner of Eighth Street and Commercial Avenue, on the levee, Professor Bond stretched his wire from Vincent's store to the Louisiana Hotel. His "wonderful feats" on the wire were witnessed by a huge crowd that was so pleased with the performance that it donated liberally when the hat was passed. The "Professor," after counting the collection, returned to the wire, concluding the performance by walking in a sack and, dressed as an old woman, putting on a drunken act that was highly amusing to the spectators.³⁷

Early in February, 1856, the editor of the *Times and Delta* announced that he had just received a letter from the agent of the Orphean Family of singers who were to give a concert in Cairo within a short time. He had heard them perform some seven years before, at which time he "considered them the best travelling singers in the United States not excepting the far famed Alleghanians. If they have improved as they should have done," continued the editor, "they are now the best singers in the world. We recommend that our citizens go and hear them, if they want to hear music such as they never heard before."³⁸ There is no record to indicate whether the concert was ever presented.

On April 1, 1857, "Fontelle, the great swimmer," was in town to swim at two o'clock from the point back of the old hotel to the bend of the Mississippi and back. He offered to wager \$500 that he could make the round trip in three-quarters

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1855.

³⁷ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Nov. 28, 1855.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1856. The Alleghanians were a famous singing family who performed throughout the West.

of an hour. There is no record as to whether or not he found a taker and performed the feat as advertised. "A hand organ has been in town with a couple of Dutch girls and a tambourine, . . . dealing out music by the dime's worth to gaping beer drinkers," said the same issue of the *Times and Delta*, whose editor was of the opinion that they should pay a license fee to the town authorities.³⁹

Cairo in the fifties had several halls where theatrical performances could be given. Few details are available on National Hall. On February 24, 1858, it was reported that Eastman Hall had been completed "and we are proud to say, is the neatest hall in Southern Illinois. Its interior is neatly and beautifully fitted up, and tastefully arranged, and will not suffer by comparison with any hall in the western country."⁴⁰

In May it was announced with pride that E. N. Slocum's Dramatic Company—also known as The Gaieties Dramatic Troupe—had engaged Eastman Hall for a series of legitimate stage productions which would open Monday, May 24. The company consisted of Mr. Slocum; Fanny Denham, a well-known Western actress and "one of the best vocalists in the country"; T. P. Varney and Jerry Taylor, comedians; and Messrs. W. A. Rouse and Robert Riley. All of them were players of some reputation. They were reported to be one of the best theatrical companies then traveling, and came to Cairo from Paducah. The *Times and Delta* proclaimed: "It is no Bingham and Cunningham affair, and our citizens may rest assured that they will be entertained, and get the full value of their money. Save your dimes for the crisis."

The company presented three dramatic pieces—"Dead Shot," "Extremes of Curiosity" and "In and Out of Place"—to a large and appreciative audience. The productions were well rendered and were "received with great applause." Miss

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1857.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1858.

Denham appeared to be the favorite and was frequently encored. "She is a fine vocalist," commented the editor, "and adapts herself exceedingly well to her various roles." On Tuesday evening "The Toodles" was offered with the after-piece "A Day in Paris," both of which were presented "better than we could reasonably expect." The audience was liberal with its applause. On the last evening of the engagement "the great Moral and Temperance Drama 'The Drunkard'" was presented with all parts "well sustained and well received." Miss Denham's singing was "unapproachable."⁴¹

The Slocum company left Cairo for an engagement in Hickman, Kentucky. "We recommend them to our contemporaries," wrote the editor of the *Times and Delta*, "as first rate fellows, well worthy of patronage." On June 9 the troupe, having returned to Cairo, presented the well-known play "Don César de Bazan" and the farce "Swiss Swains" at Eastman Hall. "Those who witnessed their last evening's performance here will certainly go to hear Miss Denham sing, 'Tis better to laugh than be sighing,' and other beautiful ballads which are connected with the pieces." There were good crowds at the three performances of plays and songs. From Cairo the company went to Jonesboro.⁴²

On August 21, 1858, Powers' Lyceum was opened in Cairo with a good stock company under the management of Huntley and Moore, featuring the Webb Sisters, well-known Western actresses. The editor was enthusiastic about the company:

The WEBB sisters are beautiful girls, and excellent actresses. . . .

The recitations of Miss Emma were most delightfully rendered, evincing careful study—sound appreciation and correct taste. Of the little fairy, Miss Ada, we cannot speak too highly. She passes through her varied and difficult changes of character, with an ease, grace and sprightliness that is positively

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, May 19, 26, June 2, 1858.

⁴² *Ibid.*, June 9, 1858.

refreshing. They are well supported by Mrs. MOORE, and Messrs. HUNTLEY and FERRIS.

We cordially recommend them to our friends here and elsewhere.⁴³

In October it was reported that "Mr. Perry Powers is fitting up this hall in splendid style," and that it would soon be ready to accommodate the public. Heavy expense had been incurred by the owner, and the editor felt that Powers should be repaid by a liberal patronage of his theatrical and other exhibitions. The newly decorated hall was to be opened by a lecture to be given by H. A. Simms of New York on "The Hungarian Revolution, Its Cause and Effect."⁴⁴

While there are a few references in the local press to the possibility of a thespian society in Cairo, there is no record that such a group was ever formed. There was interest in the Jonesboro Thespian Society organized by W. L. ("Soc") Dougherty and groups of Cairo citizens attended its programs on various occasions. On July 11, 1855 a meeting of the "Cairo String Band" was held in the basement of Frank Delvin's restaurant and saloon and "passed the evening very merrily."⁴⁵ Early in 1855 a local Lyceum Society of young men was organized for the purpose of debate, discussion and general mental improvement. At the first meeting the temperance problem was thoroughly discussed, at which time "King Alcohol was on trial for diverse crimes and misdemeanors." Since no further references to the organization are to be found, it was probably short-lived.

Many well-known entertainers passed through Cairo on steamboats from time to time. Tom Thumb is mentioned in the spring of 1848 on his way from St. Louis to Louisville.⁴⁶ Early in December, 1855, the famous comedian and clown

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1858. Emma and Ada Webb were born in New Orleans in 1843 and 1845 respectively. They traveled widely in the West and were later on the New York and London stages. T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage, 1733 to 1870* (New York, 1870), 383.

⁴⁴ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Oct. 20, 1858.

⁴⁵ *Cairo City Times*, July 18, 1855; *Cairo Times and Delta*, Jan. 9, 1856; Sept. 30, 1857.

⁴⁶ *Cairo Delta*, April 13, 1848.

Dan Rice passed through en route to his home in Girard, Pennsylvania, "where he has retired from his labors for the present winter." The editor continued: "Dan was dressed to kill, and Frenchified nearly to death. He stood up straighter than a bean pole, and had nearly all California on his fingers. By the way he carried himself, we presume that some country paper has nominated him for next President. Spangles are looking up. Long may they shine! Long may his flag wave from the top of his CASTLE!"⁴⁷ The following May, the famous Ravel Family of gymnasts, wire walkers and acrobats passed through town bound for Louisville. While their steam-boat the *Eclipse* was lying at the wharf the Ravels sent off a balloon, which according to the press was "the first ascension of the kind we ever witnessed in Cairo."⁴⁸

Dancing was popular in Cairo during the 1850's, and autumn usually ushered in a social "season" with numerous balls, many of which were public affairs. Dances were sometimes given after concerts and other types of entertainment. There was a dance at the Taylor House after Tosso's "grand, stupendous, overwhelming concert" on November 12, 1855, mentioned above. When the Ravel Family appeared at the Cairo Hotel on Friday and Saturday of the same week "the performances were supposed to close with a general dance, but we believe that the fiddler was rebellious. As the concert was 'contagious' to a bar-room, the audience was slim as the listeners patterned after the performance, and were occasionally very dry."⁴⁹

On September 1, 1857, Fred Eble presented a "Grand German Ball" at the Commercial Exchange. It was sponsored for the German population and only German dances were permitted. Tickets were one dollar at the door. Eble subsequently announced public balls for Thanksgiving and Christmas Eve with others in February and April, all of which were pro-

⁴⁷ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Dec. 5, 1855.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1856.

⁴⁹ *Cairo City Times*, Nov. 14, 21, 1855.

nounced "very successful." Eble's chief competitor in the presentation of public balls was Matt Burns, who also gave a ball at Christmas, 1857 and several more in the spring, all of which "passed off very pleasantly."⁵⁰ Patronage at the Cairo dances was not limited to local residents but attracted participants from Missouri and Kentucky as well as from other southern Illinois towns. Some one hundred and twenty people danced until three o'clock in the morning at a gala affair given in July, 1855, by citizens of the town and officials of the Illinois Central Railroad. The dance was held on the wharf-boat *St. Louis*, and the failure of the violinists to arrive by rail almost broke up the affair, but volunteers were located. "'One volunteer,'" wrote the editor, "'is worth twenty pressed men,' and those present were much indebted to the gentlemen who so kindly volunteered, and discoursed sweet music."⁵¹

Events that attracted much attention in Cairo in the fifties were the walking marathons. Sponsored by Frank Delvin, proprietor of the Commercial Billiard Saloon, these exhibitions were presented early in 1856. In January, Professor G. L. Curtis, "the great walking pedestrian," was advertised to walk thirty-six consecutive hours on a single plank, without stopping to eat or drink, for a wager of \$500. Admission to the saloon for the event was twenty-five cents. Curtis finished his assignment at 10 P.M. on January 16. At the completion of the performance "he danced an Irish jig, ate (spose) a few oysters, and in all probability took a nap. He did not seem to be the least bit fatigued by the walk and was as brisk and jolly as if he had not walked more than a quarter of a mile."⁵² On January 29 Curtis started another exhibition at Delvin's in which he proposed to walk forty consecutive hours without stopping for any cause. He had offered a "splendid ring worth \$40" to the person who sold the most tickets.

⁵⁰ *Cairo Times and Delta*, Aug. 26, Nov. 18, Dec. 9, 1857; Feb. 17, April 14, 1858. The German population of Cairo was sufficient to support a German-language paper, the *Cairo Journal*, the first issue of which appeared on Sept. 15, 1857.

⁵¹ *Cairo Delta*, July 18, 1855.

⁵² *Cairo Times and Delta*, Jan. 16, 1856.

The editor of the *Times and Delta* was much interested in Curtis' exhibitions and reported on them at some length. "We called in to see him several times during his 'perigrination,'" he wrote, "and were surprised to see that he exhibited no signs of fatigue, or 'letting down.' His friends claim that he is the greatest pedestrian in the world and we do not doubt it." He had walked 1,056 half-miles in as many half-hours in St. Louis before coming to Cairo. He was described as more than six feet tall with a "hound-like build." He was "twenty-six years old, . . . with very keen gray eyes—wears a moustach, has a very taking smile, and is also very patriotic and no doubt a very clever fellow."⁵³

It was announced that he would go from Cairo to New Orleans and thence to San Francisco, but he evidently changed his plans. It was advertised that "assisted by several 'science' gentlemen" he would give "an exhibition in 'sparring'—more generally known as boxing—on Friday night next [February 1] in Col. Hacker's new building, in the rear of the Taylor House." It was also announced that Professor Curtis was getting up a class to whom he would teach the "'art of self-defence,' without the aid of other weapons than those afforded by nature."⁵⁴

Finding that the pedestrian exhibitions presented by Curtis brought attention and patronage to his saloon, Delvin early in February presented a woman pedestrian whom he called Mademoiselle Elizabeth. Delvin and his assistant Jim Booker apparently employed a girl living on the Mississippi levee to walk forty consecutive hours for the sum of \$200. They bought her a silk dress and a pair of earrings, and with considerable fanfare she accomplished the assignment. According to the *Times and Delta*, Delvin and Booker, who were supposed to have made more than \$350 from the exhibition,

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1856 (tri-weekly); Jan. 30, 1856 (weekly).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

refused to pay her the \$200. She received only five dollars and was forced to return the dress and the earrings.⁵⁵

An affair that attracted much attention and interest was "A Grand Whittling Match" scheduled for November 6, 1855. The contest was advertised for several weeks, and the last issue of the *Delta* before the event reported that a large number of persons had entered and the price of Barlow knives had risen. The rules of the contest provided that the person whittling the largest pile of shavings was to receive all the piles to be used for kindling wood. No man was to stop "to liquor," nor whittle with his waistcoat off. No contestant could stop more than once to sharpen his knife, and there was to be no borrowing of whetstones—"each man must bring one with him." Barlow knives were to be used, and the chewing of tobacco was prohibited "as it requires too much time to eject 'ambeer.'"⁵⁶

The evidence indicates that entertainment and amusements of many sorts were witnessed and well attended in the river town of Cairo, Illinois in the decade from 1848 to 1858. Both the permanent residents and the transient population of this border settlement were much interested in all types of entertainment and as a rule furnished good audiences for the traveling companies and individuals.

There was a slight lull in entertainment activity from 1858 to 1860, but the outbreak of the Civil War brought a boom to the town because of the military preparations there. Entertainment expanded rapidly, with Defiance Hall and other establishments presenting legitimate drama as well as many other types of performances to large crowds of soldiers and civilians.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 13, 20, 1856. In reporting the event the editor criticized the men for their treatment of the woman pedestrian. Delvin immediately sold his saloon to a man from Jonesboro (according to the paper, cheating the purchaser out of \$200) and left town.

⁵⁶ *Cairo Delta*, Oct. 24, 31, Nov. 7, 1855.

ILLINOIS IN THE 1830's

Impressions of British Travelers and Immigrants

BY DALLAS L. JONES

THE commentaries of British travelers and immigrants to Illinois in the 1830's, although not always accurate in their descriptions, give a view of the state and its people as seen by Europeans.

James Stuart, who visited Illinois in May, 1830 during a trip through North America, published the story of his journey under the title *Three Years in North America*.¹ A man of means who traveled in a carriage and provided himself with every luxury available, Stuart could not understand the independent attitude of the hotelkeepers and their employees in America. Accustomed to the well-mannered English servant, it did not occur to him that the Illinoisans considered themselves his equals. He complained bitterly of the "uncouthness" and the lack of civility of such people. At a hotel in Jacksonville, for example, he became quite angry when he could not get his boots cleaned. That evening the "female waiter . . . was . . . much more intent on placing her one leg above

¹ James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1833; Edinburgh and New York, 1833).

This is the second of two articles by Dallas L. Jones on British travelers' and immigrants' descriptions of Illinois in the 1830's. The first, dealing principally with Chicago, was published in the Summer, 1954 issue of this Journal. Both articles were prepared under the direction of Professor O. Fritiof Ander at Augustana College, Rock Island, in a seminar on American history, 1949-1950.

the other in a proper position for showing her foot and ankle, than in giving the necessary attendance at the tea-table.”² “Everything was bad, and the hotel people completely lost temper when they noticed that we did not even find fault with them, but laughed at the absurdity of being so treated.”³ At a hotel in Springfield, Stuart had the same difficulties. He described the hotelkeeper, his wife and his daughter as the most “rude, untutored Americans” he had ever encountered.⁴ Patrick Shirreff, who visited the state three years later, thought that the rudeness of the people toward Stuart was the result of the latter’s own bad manners and vulgar display of wealth.⁵

Stuart was amazed that there seemed to be no thievery in Illinois—even the bad-mannered servants were honest!⁶ He believed that Illinois should be the goal of all immigrants. The soil was the richest in the world, he said, and the scenery the most beautiful.⁷ A farmer could do very well in Illinois; his only handicap would be the poor quality or lack of hired labor.

One of the important reasons for Stuart’s trip was his desire to visit Birkbeck’s settlement at Albion. The town, with its neat houses, its air of prosperity and its many people, was more “English” than any place that he had visited. He was greatly impressed by everything he observed, and thought Birkbeck’s scheme excellent.⁸ He was surprised to learn that there had already been three meetings of an antiquarian society and that its proceedings had been published.⁹ He observed that the people had retained as much power as possible, that elections were frequent, and that suffrage was general.¹⁰ Stuart concluded that democracy was working in Illinois.

² *Ibid.* (New York ed.), II: 220.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁵ Patrick Shirreff, *A Tour through North America* (Edinburgh, 1835), 428-32.

⁶ Stuart, *Three Years* (New York ed.), II: 244.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 237-43.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 228.

A person of an entirely different class and outlook from Stuart was Rebecca Burlend, who with her husband and children migrated to America because they could not make a living on their small farm in Yorkshire. They began their journey in August, 1831, and arrived at Philips Ferry (now Valley City), Pike County, Illinois, in December.¹¹ In England Mrs. Burlend had heard stories of the wonderful hospitality in America, but during her stay near Philips Ferry until her husband could locate and purchase a farm she found that these stories were exaggerated. The Burlends were expected to pay for everything they received.¹² She found, however, that the people in Illinois were very courteous to each other—even married people; men were addressed as "Sir" and women as "Madam"! Mrs. Burlend also found considerable differences in table customs in Illinois from those in England. The proper etiquette demanded that one should leave the table as soon as he had finished eating; if he remained at the table it was assumed that he had not had enough to eat.¹³

Eventually the Burlends purchased an eighty-acre farm located about three miles north of the present village of Detroit and three miles southwest of Valley City for \$100 plus \$60 for the improvements.¹⁴ The cabin on this farm was typical of log cabins in Illinois. It consisted of two square rooms, separated by rough boards, with a cellar with mud walls beneath one room. The walls of the cabin consisted of logs roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners. The crevices between the logs were filled with clay. There were two doors, one at each end of the cabin; one was always open, even in winter, to provide a draft for the fireplace which was located at one end of the room. The shingle roof and the floor were of oak. There were no windows. Their furniture

¹¹ Milo M. Quaife, ed., *Rebecca Burlend, A True Picture of Emigration* (Chicago, 1936), 7-8, 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, 45-46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53, 56-57.

consisted of two large boxes, two beds, and a few pots and cooking utensils.¹⁵ The Burlends purchased a few of the many things they required, including "a shallow, flat-bottomed pan with a cover to it, to bake in . . . vulgarly called a skillet." Mrs. Burlend was amazed to find that the "skillet" was the most common and almost the only type of oven used in Illinois.¹⁶

Like most immigrants from Europe, the entire Burlend family was stricken by an attack of "Illinois mange," which consisted of eruptions all over the body. After a dose of sulphur, however, the uncomfortable itchy "mange" disappeared and they were never bothered by it again.¹⁷

Mrs. Burlend, like most of the settlers, was suspicious of the storekeepers because she felt that they took advantage of the people, extending credit to get them in debt and thus placing the people at the mercy of the storekeepers. To avoid such a situation, the Burlends made everything they could, although there were certain necessities which they had to purchase. Because of the monopoly enjoyed by the storekeepers, Mrs. Burlend believed many of them became very wealthy.¹⁸

"The Americans are fond of the word liberty; it is indeed the burden of their song, their glory, and their pride" but in matters of religion they abused their liberty too much. Mrs. Burlend was very religious, but she did not like the numerous sects or their ways of conducting services, and felt that too little attention was paid to the selection of ministers. American religion was to her a strange mixture that contained no true religious emotion.¹⁹

But despite the seemingly unbearable hardships and trials which she encountered, Mrs. Burlend still found time to enjoy and to describe the beauty of Illinois. "The nights in

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 49, 58.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 144-47.

winter are at once inexpressibly cold, and poetically fine. The sky is almost invariably clear, and the stars shine with a brilliancy entirely unknown in the humid atmosphere of England. Cold as it was, often did I . . . stand at the door of our cabin, admiring their lustre, and listening to the wolves, whose howlings, among the leafless woods at this season, are almost unceasing.”²⁰ The next spring she was just as enthusiastic about the beauty of the prairies, although she did not believe that prairie land was fertile.²¹ By 1846, when she visited England, she encouraged people to emigrate. After the first years of hardship, she had found life in America much better than in England.²²

Illinois was visited in 1834 by George Featherstonhaugh, an Englishman who published two books about his travels in America: *Excursion through the Slave States* and *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*. He entered Illinois by crossing the Wabash River at Vincennes, and like all travelers was immediately struck by the beauty of the prairie and the flatness of the land; he called it an “ocean of land.”²³ He was greatly amused by the American corruptions of French place names. He believed this was a result of the French-Canadian practice of abbreviating such names; for example, the Kaskaskia River, shortened by the French Canadians to *aux Kas* and then by the Americans to Okaw.²⁴

Featherstonhaugh was greatly impressed by the large amount of coal he observed near the surface of the ground across the Mississippi from St. Louis, but he was disgusted with the way it was mined. The miners would dig “drifts” twenty to one hundred feet long into the bluffs where the coal was located; but as they did not brace the roofs of the drifts, they were always caving in. When the miners had run these

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²² *Ibid.*, Historical Introduction.

²³ George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), I: 250.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 251.

drifts as far into the bluff as they dared, the miners abandoned them and started new ones.²⁵

After an extensive study of the Indian mounds near St. Louis, Featherstonhaugh came to the conclusion that they were built as tombs for Indian chiefs, although probably also used for other purposes.²⁶

On his way to the mining districts of Missouri, he visited Harrisonville, which he classified as a "wretched settlement." The people there were just beginning to recover from their annual attacks of the "fever and ague; their sallow emaciated countenances, that looked distressed by the monstrous quantities of calomel they were accustomed to take, and the feeble and uncertain steps with which they went about their avocations, betrayed how dearly they paid by the loss of health for the privilege of occupying a fertile soil."²⁷ There was no doubt about the fertility of the land. A farmer told Featherstonhaugh that due to a shortage of rain his corn crop would not average more than sixty bushels an acre, but in a good season the land would yield eighty to one hundred bushels an acre. The same farmer said that corn was selling at fifteen and twenty cents a bushel, and that people in desperate need of money were selling it at twelve and a half cents.²⁸

In the autumn of 1835 another British traveler, Charles A. Murray, on his way up the Mississippi to visit Galena, stopped at Fort Armstrong where he saw a tooth from the head of "the great American elephant."²⁹

In an attempt to make the town appear a healthy place in which to live, the people at Galena tried to make Murray believe that the Fever River which ran through the town was a mistranslation of the French *Rivière des Fêves*—Bean River—

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 263-64.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 264-70.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 302.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Charles A. Murray, *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836*, 2 vols. (London, 1839), II: 102. This tooth may possibly have been from an Illinois mammoth and similar to the one on display in the Illinois State Museum.

and did not indicate an unhealthy condition. Three years later Captain Marryat accepted this explanation.³⁰ Murray felt, however, that they could never change the fact that "in rainy weather nothing short of stilts or Greenland boots can save a pedestrian from the mud and filth."³¹ The numerous Irish miners in the district, Murray believed, had carried with them to America all their prejudice and bitterness against England; in the Galena district alone nearly \$1,000 had been collected to help start a rebellion in Ireland.³² Murray describes the miners in general as "the most wonderful mixture of humanity that ever I beheld: . . . The wages are so high that they work little more than half their time, and spend the remaining half chiefly in drinking, gambling, quarrelling, dirking and pistolling one another."³³

The Baptist Union of England sent James Hoby and F. A. Cox to the United States and Canada in 1835 to study religious conditions. Hoby visited Illinois during the course of his travels. He reported the Methodists the largest denomination in that year, with 70 circuits, 150 local preachers and 14,000 members; the Presbyterians had 48 preachers and 2,000 members; the Catholics had 10 congregations with a membership of 5,000 people of all ages; the Congregationalists and Episcopalians combined had 30 congregations; and the Baptists had 20 associations, 200 churches, 135 ministers and 6,000 members.³⁴ Hoby and Cox felt that the greatest need was an educated ministry supported by the people. The Baptists were trying to help supply that need through the Baptist-endowed Shurtleff College at Alton, which had three hundred acres of land and a two-story brick building with a stone basement. Several of the fifty pupils were studying for the ministry.³⁵

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 104; Captain Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions*, 3 vols. (London, 1839), II: 127-28.

³¹ Murray, *Travels in North America*, II: 104.

³² *Ibid.*, 106.

³³ *Ibid.*, 105.

³⁴ James Hoby and F. A. Cox, *The Baptists in America* (New York, 1836), 291-92.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 293.

At Albion Hoby found the manners and thoughts of the people typically English. From the names of the roads around the town he had supposed it to be a large city, but many roads with elaborate names had no signs of habitation—while driving down Bond Street he failed to see a single house. He was greatly surprised to find that while the English settlers had built fine homes for themselves they had failed to build a church, but attributed this lack to indifference, rather than to "prevalence of infidelity" as at New Harmony.³⁶

Hoby found it remarkable and highly commendable that the Baptists of Illinois had divided more than twenty years before over the slavery issue with many churches refusing to be associated with others which supported slavery.³⁷ The few slaves in Illinois that had been there since the time of the Revolution could not be sold, and their children were free. Hoby reported that there were more than 1,500 Negroes in the state, including indentured servants and free Negroes. Most of the latter were former slaves who had been freed by their masters in slave states, and, because free Negroes were unwelcome in such states, had been forced to leave. Many of them had made Illinois their destination because it was close to slave territory. But Illinoisans did not want either slaves or free Negroes in the state, and were attempting to stop them from entering it by law.³⁸

Hoby and Cox found a great deal of fear and suspicion about the operations of the Catholic Church. Protestant speakers and writers were constantly emphasizing its dangers, evidence of which, they said, was to be found all the way along the Mississippi to the Gulf, with Catholicism especially strong in Missouri.³⁹

Hoby enjoyed his visit to Illinois, and believed that the state was a good destination for people desiring to emigrate.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 294.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 295.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 294.

However, he was realistic and warned prospective emigrants that they would have to depend on themselves for everything and that life in Illinois would be difficult.⁴⁰

Harriet Martineau, the well-known English novelist, visited Illinois in 1835 and 1836. Her visit was eagerly anticipated, and those who were fortunate to have her as a house guest looked upon the occasion as a great honor and a mark of distinction. After more than two years in America she returned to England and wrote two books about her trip: *Society in America* and *Retrospect of Western Travel*. These books stirred up quite a storm in America. She not only ridiculed some of the people who had entertained her, but because she was a violent abolitionist she did not hesitate to express her feelings concerning slavery. In general, however, her books were favorable toward America.

Her visit to Illinois in May, 1835, during a steamboat trip from New Orleans to Cincinnati, was brief. Returning from a journey through the slave states, slavery was predominant in her thought, and she remarked that although many people traveled to Missouri with the intention of purchasing some of the cheap, fertile land, they could not accept the institution of slavery and would therefore return to Illinois and buy land where slavery was prohibited. Miss Martineau believed that this preference of Illinois over Missouri made the Missourians very angry.⁴¹

Miss Martineau visited Chicago and vicinity in May and June, 1836. Upon first sighting Chicago she remarked that the city appeared "raw and bare, standing on the high prairie above the lake-shore. The houses appeared all insignificant, and run up in various directions, without any principle at all."⁴² Her arrival coincided with a land sale then in progress, and the town was extremely crowded. The inns were "intolerable"

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁴¹ Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1838), II: 29.

⁴² Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, 3 vols. (London, 1837), I: 349.

because of the vast number of speculators, but she found lodging in a private home.⁴³ However, the land sale was also the occasion for a great deal of gaiety; the first evening after her arrival she attended a "fancy fair" and enjoyed it very much. She found it "remarkable" that so many "educated, refined, and wealthy" people lived in Chicago "in small, inconvenient houses on the edge of a wild prairie."⁴⁴

During her Chicago visit she decided to make a trip to Joliet to visit Mount Joliet.⁴⁵ She was greatly pleased with both the hospitality and the scenery at Joliet. At the inn, the landlord and two other people gave up their beds to her party. Mount Joliet, said Miss Martineau, "commands a view which I shall not attempt to describe, either in its vastness, or its soft beauty."⁴⁶

Another visitor to Illinois in 1836 was James Logan, who in October traveled rapidly across the state from Chicago to St. Louis. While at Chicago he commented on the "usual American celerity in eating and drinking. No change of knife, or fork, or plate; no spoon for the sugar-basin; no ceremony whatever observed; every man for himself, and none for his neighbour; hurrying, snatching, gulping, like famished wild cats; victuals disappearing as if by magic."⁴⁷ Logan was more astonished at the price of land. In the nearby countryside, land was priced at \$40 to \$50 an acre, while town lots were selling at \$500 to \$600 each.⁴⁸ The Americans did not like the Irish immigrants who were working on the Illinois and Michigan Canal.⁴⁹

Joliet was "in a most romantic situation," and at Ottawa, amazed by the beauty of the scenery, Logan predicted that

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 349-50.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 352.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 358. Joliet was then known as "Juliet," but Miss Martineau did not like that form. There was also a settlement near Juliet called "Romeo."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 360-61.

⁴⁷ James Logan, *Notes of a Journey through Canada, the United States of America, and the West Indies* (Edinburgh, 1838), 104.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 106-7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

when people learned of that beauty there would be many visitors.⁵⁰ At Peoria, where he boarded a steamer for St. Louis, he noticed that some American men were almost rude to some ladies at the inn; Americans, he felt, were not nearly so gallant as they would have others believe.⁵¹

In 1838 Illinois was visited by Captain Frederick Marryat, a well-known novelist who had attained fame as a naval officer in the Napoleonic wars. He often made critical remarks about democratic government, but liked America and was well received. He strongly criticized Harriet Martineau's views and claimed that she was wrong in her opinions. He arrived in Galena after a trip through Wisconsin from St. Peters, and found it "a small town, picturesquely situated on the banks of the river, but very dirty."⁵² He was quite impressed, however, by the extent of the mining district, the amount of lead mined, and the fertility of the soil.⁵³

Marryat was no different from other travelers in being impressed by the beauty of the prairies, nor in being positive that they were unhealthful. He compared them to an ocean of tall grass and flowers,⁵⁴ but believed that they were the cause of the great amount of sickness to be found. Therefore he was greatly amazed at the large number of immigrants pouring into Illinois and settling on prairie land.⁵⁵

Marryat also visited Alton, which he described as "a well-built town of stone, and, from its locality, must increase; it is, however, spoilt by the erection of a penitentiary with huge walls, on a most central and commanding situation."⁵⁶ At Alton he encountered something quite puzzling to him—a small restaurant with the sign "Stranger, here's your chicken

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 108. The popularity of nearby Starved Rock State Park shows the accuracy of Logan's prediction.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵² Marryat, *Diary in America*, II: 131.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 128-31.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 132-33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 203-8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

fixings," but he considered it "characteristic of the country."⁵⁷

Captain Richard G. A. Levinge, an officer in the British army who had been sent to Canada in 1837 to help quell the Canadian rebellion of that year, made a quick hunting expedition to Illinois in 1838. Except for his remarks about wild life, his book presents little that could not be found in a guide book. Of Chicago in 1837, he states it had a population of 8,000 people, "with one hundred and twenty stores, besides a number of groceries; further it supported fifty lawyers, and—thanks to the intermittent fever and ague—upwards of thirty physicians."⁵⁸ He also reported that Edwardsville produced from thirty to forty thousand gallons of castor oil annually to cure those diseases.⁵⁹

Although the observations of these Britons were sometimes superficial, they were important because their impressions were widely accepted in Europe and gave a very vivid picture of Illinois, of the unsurpassed beauty of the prairies, of the customs and life of the people, and of the struggle to build Illinois into a great state.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 133-34.

⁵⁸ Richard G. A. Levinge, *Echoes from the Backwoods*, 2 vols. (London, 1849), II: 196-97.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

LETTERS BY JOHN MASON PECK

EDITED BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

THE first half of the nineteenth century brought to Illinois many men who were destined to play significant roles in the development of the Prairie State. In training and gifts they were highly diverse: lawyers and physicians, clergymen and teachers, soldiers and merchants, farmers and politicians. Often they claimed more than one profession and combined their roles in a way that is constantly amazing to an age which has placed specialization above versatility. Such a man was John Mason Peck, the Connecticut-born Baptist minister who came to St. Louis in 1817 and shortly thereafter settled at Rock Spring, St. Clair County, Illinois, retaining his residence there until his death in 1858.

Peck was a missionary and a temperance crusader, a teacher and a journalist, an editor and a publicist for western settlement. He was active in promoting a seminary at Rock Spring for the training of the Baptist clergy, an institution which, when transferred to Alton and rebaptized after an eastern philanthropist, developed into Shurtleff College. He labored hard to publish religious periodicals and to disseminate devotional tracts. He was constantly soliciting funds for

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missionary purposes, visiting churches, attending camp meetings, delivering sermons or addresses to the legislature at Vandalia, and superintending ecclesiastical organizations.

Peck did not aspire to political office, but in political campaigns he could not remain quite apart. He counted among his friends three governors of Illinois: Edward Coles, John Reynolds and Thomas Carlin. His own journals reveal suc-

cinctly the multifarious activities and the amazing endurance of the man. On a forty-five-day trip in 1824 Peck rode horseback some 830 miles, preached 27 times as well as giving other addresses, attended meetings of four Baptist societies, visited two Methodist camp meetings, and formed five branch Bible societies.¹ But such a period of labor in the religious field was the rule rather than the exception with this extraordinary man.

JOHN MASON PECK
1789-1858

writing because much of it was transient journalism, buried for the most part in temperance or church papers.² But he found time to write biographies of Daniel Boone and the Baptist clergyman John Clark, to edit excellent guides and gazetteers of Illinois, and to revise the extensive *Annals of the West* originally compiled by James Handasyd Perkins (Peck's revision appeared in 1850). And in between public duties and farm chores he managed to write many letters.

The letters which follow, with one exception, were di-

¹ Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life, Memoir of John Mason Peck D. D.* (Philadelphia, 1864), 203.

² The most nearly complete compilation of Peck's writings is in Matthew Lawrence, *John Mason Peck, The Pioneer Missionary* (New York, 1940).

rected to John Russell of Bluffdale, Greene County, Illinois, like Peck an easterner by birth and a teacher and Baptist minister by profession.³ One (Letter II) was addressed to Russell's son, W. A. J. Russell, also of Bluffdale. John Russell and Peck were close friends, long workers in the same field and interested equally in education and the church.⁴ Russell was the more sedentary of the two men, confining most of his activity to the Illinois River valley, whereas Peck traveled widely on money-raising or propagandizing trips. But both men were vitally interested in the building of civilization on the prairies and both were widely known for their diligence, integrity and scholarship. To Russell, Peck unbosomed himself in a way which was not often possible with other correspondents.

Peck's letters to his old friend cover a fairly long period. Those published here for the first time deal with events between 1842 and 1854 and are concerned chiefly with professional and literary activities. Varied in their topics and reflecting the different moods of the writer, they present a highly interesting personality. Peck in general was a calm and patient man, evincing usually the tolerance and understanding befitting his calling and seldom indulging in the abuse or hysteria of a Peter Cartwright. But he could be both frank and disdainful. He had little respect for the untrained clergy with whom he came in frequent contact and who scorned to use a dictionary. Even the sincere exhorter, he thought, would be the better for a little knowledge and a little grammar, although on the other hand he had no respect for the minister who had to read his sermons. Peck knew and liked books. His letters are just as likely to expound the identity of the

³ The Peck letters printed here are in the possession of Mrs. Howard Hobson, Greenfield, Ill., and are used with her permission. She is a great-granddaughter of John Russell.

⁴ For a sketch of John Russell's life and work see John T. Flanagan, "John Russell of Bluffdale," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (September, 1949), XLII: 272-91; and six letters by John Russell with occasional allusions to Peck, *ibid.* (Spring, 1951), XLIV: 32-46.

mysterious Junius letters or the fictions of Daniel Defoe as to deal with the difficulties of a local pastorate or the faculty of Shurtleff College.

Moreover, he wanted to encourage writers to record the incidents and personalities of Illinois history before both were forgotten. He constantly urged Russell to write fictional sketches based on facts known to both men, thus to excite an interest in the prairie scene which would not inhere in more obviously expository or hortatory writing. As the more experienced man in publishing and as the more closely connected with eastern journals, Peck frequently gave Russell hints about themes and stories, often promising immediate financial remuneration for the proper contributions. Again, Peck often gave frank vent to his prejudices. He had no liking for the Irish schoolteachers whom he occasionally met in his travels, since he considered them both incompetent and befuddled, and his bias against Catholicism was steady and bitter. He was also unsympathetic with the slovenliness and squalor he so often saw among the squatters on the edge of the Missouri settlements. But no matter what his subject, he was honest and specific. His own style was clear, terse, and emphatic, the easy style of a cultivated man who saw clearly and always knew his own position.

I

ROCK SPRING, ILLINOIS, Nov. 18, 1842.

DEAR BRO. RUSSELL—

I reached my own domicil the 7th inst. & having taken a severe cold in St. Louis, I was confined for the week—am now in usual health, but confined from *cold weather*. We have had a series of *snow storms*—the ground is now frozen up hard, & as severe weather as in the depth of winter—thermometer 8 or 10 degrees below z.⁵

⁵ The letters are transcribed here as Peck wrote them, with two exceptions: words which he underscored for emphasis appear here in italics, and since frequently in his haste Peck would use a dash or omit terminal periods, these have been supplied. His abbreviations and infrequent misspellings have been retained.

My family have had fine health all the season—I saw Samson William in St. Louis, the 7th, who came down expecting to meet your daughter from Louisville.⁶

He scolded "mighty" because you did not write—You had better have your eyes open or Mrs. R. may apply to the Legislature this winter.

I have written to J. Eliot to put you in Editor pro-forma, for the B. & P.⁷ I have also suggested that at January, publish *half a sheet*, at \$1.50, condense the articles, leave out those long-winded notices of Buck's hymn book,⁸ the advertisement for the afflicted &c & make a respectable & decent paper on the *cash* plan for \$1.50—The Missouri folks have started a monthly paper under charge of Hinton & by January it will be a semi-monthly at \$1.00—better print & *paper* than the B. & P. *Entrè nous*, if Buck would let you manage wholly the B. & P., it would be a far better concern & far more popular.

Our good folks do not seem to know what the matter is, but I know—the B. & P. contains loads of trash—Our good man Howell, nearly used it up with his long-winded controversies with some illiterate Methodists.

The communications sent should be razed down, & the paper have a decidedly more literary cast. Our good man Buck carries loads of chaff to grains of wheat—& yet he does not know it. I wish you would contrive, by some way, to get regularly installed in the editorial chair, & have the sole management—Then I would give you leave to razee down, or knock into pi anything I send, if you would serve the rest the same way.

By the way our great Illinois Doctor, (I learn) has made a profound discovery—that the Illinois folks do not discover his profound & weighty talents! What a pity that no man can find out a man's greatness but himself. At the Convention in Springfield the good folks deliberately dropped him as the "Illinois Correspondent"—Whew!

When the Committee sent him to put up with Jesse B.

⁶ Russell edited the *Louisville (Ky.) Advertiser* in the spring and summer of 1842.

⁷ Eliot was a Louisville publisher whose firm issued the periodical titled *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*.

⁸ William C. Buck (1790-1872) edited *The Baptist Hymn Book* (Louisville, 1842).

Thomas esq.⁹ (Judge &c) he giving them to understand he must have the best accommodations in the city—Thomas treated him just as he did the other brethren who put up with him. The Doctor took great offence because no special arrangements were made for *him*, & left with his baggage.

No one in Springfield would show him the least *marked* attention different from what they did other brethren, & he came back wofully chop-fallen. The D.D.'s have gone to the dogs. The *Doctor* demanded to be announced at Commencement, & plead for a parchment for him & Tucker of Ohio (another piece of moonshine like himself). Pres. Sherwood,¹⁰ a man firm as the hills, refused to act or sign them.

Perry appealed to the Board & to Dr Edwards as President of the Board of Trustees that he should sign.¹¹ The Board declined, & Doctor E. refused. So poor Perry is destitute of a D.D., & quite in the dumps about it. You are aware he came to St. Louis last summer & got 18 members of Hinton's church to form a new one. The *cbb* was formed & at Perry's suggestion called him to be pastor—he promising to accept, provided they would build a house by Christmas & raise him \$1000 per an—The church, a small band, could not do it, & have settled bro. Edson as pastor on a small salary & meet in a School house. In the mean time P-y announces to the church in Alton that he should leave them at Christmas, to settle in St. Louis, & they took him at his word—& now he is fairly between “*two stools.*” Since my return he has written me to find an opening in the Lower Country, for he must leave Alton on account of the *cold winters*. “If you wish to kill a crazy fellow give him rope”—You recollect his correspondence last autumn with you & others?

You are aware that at the Western Baptist Pub. Society at Louisville, last June, Resolutions of censure were passed on me & published in the B. & P. At the special meeting at Cincinnati they found it necessary to ‘take the Back Track’

⁹ Jesse B. Thomas, Jr. (1806-1850), a resident of Edwardsville, was attorney general, circuit judge and associate justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

¹⁰ Adiel Sherwood (1791-1879) served as president of Shurtleff College from 1841 to 1846.

¹¹ Gideon B. Perry, minister and physician and head of the medical department at Shurtleff College, wanted to be awarded an honorary D.D. degree. As Peck states, he was disappointed. Benjamin F. Edwards (1797-1877) was president of the board of trustees of Shurtleff, a position he resigned in 1846. He was succeeded by his brother Cyrus Edwards (1793-1877).

—as the profound discovery was made on examining the Constitution that I had acted strictly correctly. Be not surprised if I have to go east next summer.

People in Illinois have had good health in general—revivals of religion are prevailing—Dr Huxtable, the English gentleman whom I introduced you to on the Boat is at my house—his companion Rev. Mr. May has gone with Prof. Bacon to the Indian Territory. They expect to be at my house by New Years, when I am to have a meeting of ministers, some 25 in number—Will you come?

And now do not fail to write me often, at least every week, & write all particulars—*perfectly confidential* if you please, as no person sees my letters but myself.

As EVER YOURS,

J. M. PECK

II

OFFICE, AMER. BAP. PUBN S. S. SOCIETY
PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 29, 1843.

W. A. J. RUSSELL P.M. DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 17th has just arrived. Please say to your Father as follows—That I wrote him a long-long-letter—in various languages, English, French, Latin, Italian, &c, on the 22nd inst—furnished him a variety of incidents, & am anxiously expecting a *very long & very particular* letter from him.

I have no opportunity to consult either our Board or publishing Committee on the subject of "*The Serpent Uncoiled*," (a very appropriate title),¹²—Can say we need one or two small & pithy tracts on that subject—of 8, 12, or 16 pages—Can he divide it well so as to make two heads, or two subjects or rather *branches* of one subject so as to make two small tracts?

Perhaps, however, it better make a small bound volume. We have a volume, 12 mo, of 240 pages entitled "*My Progress in Error, & Recovery to Truth, or a Tour through Universalism, Unitarianism, & Scepticism.*" This is written by a talented & distinguished physician near Boston, & is a literal &

¹² Russell was the author of a famous temperance tract *The Venomous Worm*. This is probably something of the same kind.

graphical history of his own experience. Sells for 56 cts.

I think a small book for about 20 or 25 cents an important thing & doubt not in the least his *ability* in making it. I should have liked it "mighty" to have crept into some corner unseen while he was *preaching* it. If it comes I will lay it before the Committee & see what can be done about publishing it. At present we are crowded very close for want of funds—have just gotten out the *best* Hym-Book ever made, & expect to send him a copy to criticise, & examine thoroughly, first chance. Perhaps, as we cannot be ready to publish under several weeks your Father better get his book "*The Serpent*" prepared for the press; write not "*very small*" but *large & plain*, & keep it till a private conveyance, or till I reach Illinois, which will be about Dec. 1st—when doubtless I shall *see him*,—for if he don't come to Rock Spring to see me, I will assail him in his own domicil, at Bluffdale. I must be in Ill. for some 3 or 4 weeks, & then, probably, go to Mississippi & South—Tell your father that his book, if suited for Sabbath School libraries must have *plates*, representing the serpent "coiled up," ready to bite, then "uncoiled," & shown to be the real "*Old Serpent*."

About the *Roger Williams* & other books for Sunday Schools—They should contain the prominent *facts* & *characteristics*, with such explanations, allusions, & descriptions as will make them interesting books. A pleasant narrative style, with illustrations of the history of the times—with the men. We want the style pleasant & simple, yet sufficiently elevated as to be read by any class of persons.

He had better gather the *facts* & *incidents* & group them together, & then write from them—else the book will be too large. Let him write, a full hand, not close, as the cost of printing & correcting crowded & fine writing is much more—& the proofs not half as well corrected.

The pages of the book, we want (Memoirs &c for Sunday Schools) will contain about 25 lines, & about 35 or 36 *letters* (not *ems*) to a line—say about 900 letters to a page. And we wish them to range from 100 to 175 pages—say on average about 150—You may, perhaps, work out R. Williams to 180 or 200, *not over*.

Authorship for such books is counted & paid for by *letters*—not *ems* as printers count—We propose to pay cash

to you the same as others—same as N.E.S.S. Union¹³ pays, & as our Society has paid for its books in M.S. 50 cents for each page of 1200 letters in 6 months after the work is in press. Or we will furnish books at 25 per cent discount in advance. After taking the "Sober Second Thought," I would ask why cannot you work your "*Serpent Uncoiled*" into a narrative form, & weave in some incidents, if you choose, with suitable admonitions for the young, & fix it for a *Sunday School* book at once. It would be a capital affair—a popular concern, & in that case we would have it out as early as possible, so as to have it spread over the land early in the Spring. In that case I would call it "*The Serpent Uncoiled*" without the appendage. Let its application appear in the book. And, then, some "pretty's" as the good folks in Illinois say, must come in. Plates do not cost much, on wood, & they are all the go now in book making—Don't write it too close & fine, We rather pay more postage. We must push out a book each month, & we have 3 on hand.

I will send you in pamphlet form, "Effie Maurice," & perhaps something else, You can afford to pay postage—Calculate 36 pages for a sheet, not periodical. Effie Maurice is the first of a series on the Commandments by a young lady, Miss Chubbuck of Hamilton N.Y. now in the female seminary at Utica, & she writes to support an infirm father.¹⁴ The next is "*John Frink*," on the third Command—It is now in M.S. & in the hands of the Committee & will be sent to press next week. I think your Father can make us a series of books that will just suit, & I hope by next Spring we shall be able to send them to press fast as he can knock them off—He can be *pastor of Bluffdale* & write Books for Sab. Schools too—Has he copies of A. Fuller, Staughton, W. Carey, Luther Rice &c. [?]¹⁵

Tell the Church, if they will call a presbytery to ordain

¹³ New England Sunday School Union.

¹⁴ The reference may be to Mrs. Emily Chubbuck Judson (1817-1854), who wrote occasionally under the name of Fanny Forester and published verse and temperance sketches.

¹⁵ These writers were all prominent Baptist missionaries and educators. Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) was an English Baptist. William Staughton (1770-1829) had been Peck's teacher in Philadelphia and remained his friend and counselor. William Carey (1761-1834) was a pioneer missionary as well as a linguist and translator in India. Luther Rice (1783-1836) was prominent in Baptist educational and philanthropic work.

your father, I will consent to appear & preach the Sermon in December. Tell your father *he* must write, frequently, & let me know how he progresses.

I am hard at work making the tables of associations in the Baptist Almanac now in press & I shall come very near to *full & correct* returns. Next week I am to attend a meeting of the *Alumni* of Brown University—as all *graduates & honorary* members are invited to attend & form an association. On Sat. Eve. Oct. 15, I have been appointed to preach a sermon about the Home Mission & wants of the Western Valley, before the New York Missionary Convention at Syracuse.

YOURS &C
J. M. PECK

III

Private

ROCK SPRING, ILL. JULY 29, 1850.

MY VERY HIGHLY ESTEEMED FRIEND—

After you left the college, (friday) the appointment of an Instructor in the Junior Preparatory Department became necessary. The "Faculty" with some hesitation, said they could nominate no other than the former teacher Mr. Cunningham,¹⁶ who by some was thought to be inefficient. *Your name* was mentioned by some of the Board. A reply from Prof. Washn Leverett,¹⁷ chairman of the nominating committee was (after a moments consultation with others) that the Faculty dare not name Mr. Russell for a post in the *Junior* Department—it would appear like an insult to a gentleman of the literary distinction, standing and age of Mr. Russell to nominate him to such an inferior station; but if there was a *Professorship* to be filled he would not hesitate a moment—but would cheerfully decline any nomination and refer the whole subject to the Trustees. Quite an interesting and rather singular discussion took place. It was soon mani-

¹⁶ William Cunningham, a graduate of Shurtleff College, taught in the preparatory department there and subsequently at Greenville.

¹⁷ Washington Leverett (1805-1889) went to Shurtleff in 1836 as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; he served until 1868. His twin brother Warren (1805-1872) was affiliated with the college almost as long and held the professorship of ancient languages.

fested that some of your friends about Carrollton had mentioned your name privately to some of the trustees and they thought you could be obtained.

Then came on the same difficulties as had troubled our amiable Professor—"Would it not be regarded as an insult?"—"Mr R. would expect a salary equal to his ability and distinction—at least \$600 or \$700 and we had not means to pay it."

Amongst other speakers was an *old friend* of yours, who ventured to state you was a very different man from what some supposed—that you felt a deep interest in building up Shurtleff as a Baptist Institution—and though you was worthy of the best professorship in the Land, & the best salary, you was both *condescending* and *self-sacrificing*—All soon agreed if you could consent to accept so *low* a post, and labor with mere boys in elementary branches for a time, your services would be a most fortunate acquisition—*All* the old trustees who know you *personally*, spoke in the highest terms. Mr Edwards was enthusiastic. George Smith said you was once a teacher in the Seminary, and that the Institution lost its right arm when you left. He alluded without stating particulars of the jealousy of old Daddy Loomis as the cause,¹⁸ and pronounced you as the best teacher ever in Alton.

After half an hour "free discussion" all "on one side," the vote was *unanimous* with very hearty expressions.

I ought to mention Dr Sherwood, whom you once thought was not friendly to you;¹⁹ he spoke very decidedly in your favor, and on voting held up *both hands*. Dr S. is a very candid man & never says a thing without meaning it. A committee was appointed to see if a *Professorship* cannot be created for that department, *nominally*, without lowering the dignity of professorships.

I suggested "Professorship of English Literature"—and have the understanding the incumbent is to *teach* minor branches, and give lectures, stately or occasionally on "*English Literature.*"

Give me your opinion of the effect of such a nominal

¹⁸ Hubbell Loomis (1775-1872) was appointed principal of the seminary at Alton in 1832 and was one of the veteran faculty members.

¹⁹ See note 10. A warm tribute is paid Sherwood in Chapter VI of Austen Kennedy de Blois, *The Pioneer School* (New York, 1900), a history of Shurtleff, dedicated to the memory of John Mason Peck and the Leverett brothers.

professorship in a *College*—I shall look over College documents to see if I can find a precedent—The salary of the last teacher was \$350—but we could not think of less than \$400.

If there is any way by increase of scholars to get the cash they will raise it. The Institution opens again in *seven* weeks. If you consent, let me know at once. I told the trustees, if you come you would very likely occupy a room in the college building with your son.²⁰

I sent from St. Louis about 30 papers of last volume of the *Watchman*, thinking you would want a file of such as contained special editorials, descriptions of the changes in Missouri &c.²¹

From your long absence, I suppose you are not “well posted up” in Baptist progress in Missouri. The denomination in that state are so far ahead that they cannot be seen by a telescope from Illinois.

They raised in two years, without one dollar agency expense *sixty thousand dollars* to establish a Baptist College. The papers about the last of August give the Proceedings of a Convention held at Booneville to locate it. *Liberty* in Clay County, is the site. The people are now raising \$40,000 to expend in buildings & apparatus. We have *talents, intelligence, piety and wealth* now in the Baptist denomination in Missouri—and *large views and liberality* too. And then they are *united*, and have none of the petty rivalships & jealousies of the *small* fellows in Illinois. I feel *vexed, mortified, and ashamed* at the lagging course of things in Illinois. We have a clan of “*York-State*” baptist preachers in northern Illinois, to whom our folks gave up the lead some six or seven years since, and all they have done is to monopolize the Home Mission funds, quarrel with each other, write letters prejudicial to *Southern Illinois*, (by which they mean all the country South of Peoria) and keep any thing from being done in the General Association. When I came back from Philadelphia, they had 20 missionaries sustained by the Home Mission Society north of the middle of the state, and *four* a

²⁰ Spencer G. Russell, John Russell's son, was at this time a student at Shurtleff. He subsequently served as the Bluffdale postmaster.

²¹ A Baptist newspaper, *Watchman of the Prairies*, was published in Chicago from 1847 to 1853. An earlier *Western Watchman* may have been published in Rock Spring about 1836 but Franklin W. Scott, in *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (Springfield, 1910), 305, terms this improbable.

little South. Even last year they got 2/3 rds, and grumbled because they had no more.

Then they are against all "secret" societies, [MS illegible and torn], and yet [there are?] two parties of anti-slavery Baptists, who are about as friendly as Jews & Samaritans of old.

As you are a "literary" gentleman, and withal keep a sort of depository of Literary curiosities, I send you the "*Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*" in the "*Nederduitsche spaken*" (language-speech). Was you present at the discussion raised by Mr Boyakin²² about the "*Duitsche Boecken*," which he wanted transposed? Well, then, this *Nieuwsbode* (literally news-carrier, or "bearer") is the only newspaper in the United States in the "Hollandsch" language. You may see it has some affinity with the German. "Low Deutsche," is called "*Platt-deutsche*," and is not a written but a spoken language. You see "*Duitsche*" in Hollandsch is "*Deutsche*" in German.

About 9000 or 10,000 of these people have come to our country in the last five years. The largest number are in Michigan and Wisconsin—About 12 or 1500 are in Iowa & several hundred in St. Louis. In March 1829 I baptized in [MS illegible and torn] 15 at one time, one of them is now an ordained and another a licentiate preacher.

Of Germans & Hollandsch about 60 have been baptized in St. Louis since March 1849—One was a student under the great Historian Neander,²³ and pastor of a church at Lippe-Detmolde in Westphalia.

YOURS &
J. M. PECK

IV

ROCK SPRING, (SHILOH P.O.) ILLINOIS,
APRIL 28, 1851

JOHN RUSSELL ESQ. MY DEAR FRIEND—

I have been expecting a letter from you for a month past, and am concerned lest you relapse into old habits of a dila-

²² The identity of Boyakin is uncertain, but see Letter V below. W. F. Boyakin edited the *Belleville Democrat* in 1858-1859.

²³ Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789-1850), German theologian and church historian, served as professor at the University of Heidelberg and later at Berlin. He did much to liberalize Lutheran orthodoxy.

tory correspondence. Do you know I have had an invitation to visit Carrollton & preach a few times and especially a discourse on Strict Communion? I may yet visit the borough, but neither my health (now much improved) nor my engagements would permit just at present. I have just learned Elder Tolman has taken charge of the Upper Alton Chh.²⁴ Hence he is in a wider & far more important position than at Carrollton. How aptly is the aphorism of the "wise man" illustrated, (Prov. 18, 16) "A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men."

You are aware I have entered on the pastorate of Bethel Church.²⁵ I am projecting some important movements tending to progress, & to prepare the church to have and sustain a pastor in the vigor, & not decline of life. I preach once on the Sabbath at the M. House, and at 4 ock Prc. on each alternate Sabbath at Collinsville, & the other Sabbath at a Schoolhouse in the opposite direction. I shall have about 4 Sab. Schools in its bounds, and a large bible class. Joseph and James Lemen, who occasionally attend with me as bearers, are both cordial & friendly in the arrangement.²⁶ Both have done much valuable Service in raising up this church, and their labors elsewhere, but for several years they have been "behind the age," in this field. And while they continued to preach to the church, there was no chance for a regular pastor & his support.

The church has elements of strength, and my particular business will be to prepare the way for further progress & a successor.

Have you ever had opportunity of becoming acquainted with the "Life & Times" of Daniel De Foe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*?

The "Life & Times," is a work by Walter Wilson, some years since, and is commended in a Review—but in a publication entitled "Chamber Papers for the people," is an

²⁴ J. N. Tolman, a Baptist minister and the son of the Rev. Jeremy F. Tolman (1784-1872).

²⁵ This church in St. Clair County was close to Peck's home at Rock Spring.

²⁶ James Lemen, Sr. (1760-1822) founded Bethel Baptist Church in St. Clair County. Several of his sons were also Baptist preachers, notably James Lemen, Jr. (1787-1870) and Joseph Lemen (1785-1861). See William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, 1881).

elaborate article, copied into "Littell's Living Age."²⁷

De Foe's name was originally was *Foe*, to which for reasons unknown he appended *De*. His entire works consist of more than 200 separate publications....[the remainder of this paragraph and the following six paragraphs have been omitted because they simply summarize for the benefit of John Russell the political and literary career of Daniel Defoe; it should be noted, however, that Peck's interest in Defoe is more in his position as a dissenter than in his literary achievements].

All De Foe's writings are said to have a moral & benevolent aim. He realized a handsome income in the latter years of his life, from the fruits of his pen. A son of his turned out a worthless scoundrel, & embittered the declining years of the father. He died on the 24, April, 1731, aged 70 years. He was rich and poor, thirteen times in succession. Now, my friend, please send to St. Louis, buy and read *Robinson Crusoe*, just out of respect to the memory of old Daniel De Foe, and then leave it to your grandchildren, Let me hear from you soon. Tomorrow I visit U. Alton to attend the Trustees meeting at the College.²⁸

Do you have a *vacation*? *When*? Will you come home with me and spend a few days if I come after you?

YOURS FRATERNALLY,
J. M. PECK.

V

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILLINOIS
JUNE 5TH 1851. AT NIGHT.

DEAR FRIEND RUSSELL,

I think, if nothing else will convince you of my high appreciation of your Correspondence, my very frequent communications will do it. The German newspaper you mention as having been found, the "*Americanische Botshafter*," is under the editorial supervision of Rev. *Auguste Rauschenbusch*, who was *baptised* in St. Louis, a year ago last May by Elder B. E. S. Kupfer, who is now our German Missionary at Highland in the eastern part of Madison County.

²⁷ Walter Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe* (London, 1830).

²⁸ Shurtleff College.

With Rauschenbusch I became well acquainted. He is a native of Westphalia, his father was pastor of a German Reformed church in Lippe-Detmold (a city of 60,000 pop.) and had between 3000 & 4000 communicants in his chh. and probably not a dozen real christians among them. (Should you ever hear my lecture on the "Germans and German Missions," you will learn what Lutheranism, run up to seed, has done in Germany.) Rauschenbusch after what we call a college education, spent several years in study and attending Lectures under the late distinguished Dr. Neander in Berlin,—was converted under his his [sic] teaching, and heard doctrines from this distinguished man, who was highly evangelical, that in course of time made him a Baptist. Neander taught with great force and in a truly Scriptural manner that the churches of Christ were a body of *believers*—that none but those who were real christians, and therefore savingly converted ou[gh]t to be members. R., on the death of his father, returned to Lippe-Detmold, and the church over which his father presided, chose him pastor. He told them he could not preach to them as *christians*, but only as *sinners*, who must repent & believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, or they cannot be saved. (Every German, who is not an avowed infidel, believes strenuously he is a christian & will go to heaven, & urges as *the* reason, he has been baptised in babyhood, been confirmed by the priest, and partaken of the Holy Eucharist) Many opposed him, insisting they all were Xns—Many were by this time converted persons & agreed with him. For, some 20 or 25 years ago, as colporteurs began to circulate the scriptures & tracts, many read the scriptures, took the word of God as their standard, & became hopefully pious. As R., expressed to me, he became the pastor of a large flock of sheep & wolves intermixed, the majority of the latter. Still he administered the "Eucharist" to both classes for he knew not the better way then.

He established praying societies, or "Circles," as he called them, in his parish, until he had *nine* such circles, of the converts & inquirers. The believers conferred together, and with him, and came to the conclusion they could not separate the two classes as the laws and customs were in Westphalia—and they would migrate to the free country of

the United States where they could start a *chb* of believers only.

They came by N. Orleans to *St. Louis* about six years since—generally the poorer class—not much property. A majority being farmers went to Gasconade county where they still live and remain in most cases paedobaptists. The Presbyterians have coaxed them. Some 40 or 50, who were mechanics &c staid in St. Louis. These in 1846, were formed into a Presbyterian *chb* by Dr Potts & his coadjutors & received by the Presbytery. Rauschenbusch went with the Gasconade company, from whence he was invited by the managers of the Amer. Tract Society, to edit their German publications and start the "Botshafter," which is in a good degree the "American Messenger" translated into German but not wholly. While at this business he (by request of Dr Sears) visited Newton Theo. Institution, & aided him in German matters. There he re-examined the principles taught by Neander, and soon saw the *cause* of the evils in church polity in Germany was *Infant Baptism*, & that the practical & inevitable tendency of it was the mixture of wolves and sheep in the flock until all would become wolves. So he became a *Baptist*. In 1849, his health failing, he came to Missouri and spent about 10 months with his Gasconade friends, and diffused amongst them the pure gospel.

In the mean time the way had been opened in a most singular and providential manner for my labors among the Hollanders & Germans, both then entire strangers to each others movements.

The German Presn *chb* in St. Louis had no pastor, and was visited only once or twice a year by the paedobaptist minister (German) from Gasconade. There were three Elders, excellent men, who kept up meetings in private houses. These people were visited during summer and autumn (1849) by our missionaries and colporteurs (Schoemaker and Glattfeldt), but they were shy, and did not like *Baptists*. They corresponded with Rauschenbusch and urged him to come to St. Louis. He made them a visit in November and staid two weeks. The first night the three Elders, & 2 or 3 others were together and urged R. to become their pastor. He told them he could not. He was pledged to return to New York to labor in the Tract Society

in the Spring. Besides, he could not act out his former principles, for he was in sentiment a *Baptist* and intended soon to be baptised. They were at once inquisitive & anxious to know what strange notions & practises the baptists in America had. By the way the city of Munster in Westphalia was the seat of the Insurrection headed by Munzer, Knipperdoling and March &c. in Luthers day. Though all sects, struggling for liberty were concerned Luther & his coadjutors contrived to fasten it on the Anabaptists, and hence all Germany is peculiarly prejudiced against us.—Rauschenbusch had to spend most of the night teaching these Elders—who became much interested. R. advised them to invite Glattfeldt to preach to them which he did through the winter. R. wrote to Elder Kupfer to come out. He had been a paedobaptist preacher from Bern in Schwitzerland, & was baptised in New York in 1849. in May, 1850, after Kupfer's arrival, between 30 & 40 were Baptised. It "used up" Potts' presn church, for every real Xn turned baptist—Some who could not tell a christian experience were left. Rauschenbusch went back to New York about a year since, was received there as a regular Baptist Minister, and is still in the Tract cause and the "Botshafter," the paper your young man found. If you will open a correspondence with him, he will be much gratified, and if you request the paper monthly no doubt he will sent [*sic*] you a copy. If you want an introduction just mention my name and say I suggested you to write—His Address is Rev. Auguste Rauschenbusch, American Tract Society's House, No 150, Nassau Street, New York.

Elder Boyakin was with me yesterday & I took him to Belleville today. Did you ever hear him? His imagination is as luxuriant as a Cane-brake, but for 8 or 10 years he has adopted my suggestion of severe pruning, & his style is much improved, but it is quite poetic yet. And he writes passable poetry. If he had only received a thorough education in early life he would have been a splendid man. I ventured to read him that part of your letter addressed to "Col. Posterity, esq." with a few extracts from the preceding one. He declared (and he is honest in it) that your style of letter writing is superior to any thing he ever read. He said Addison nor Steele could not equal it. After throwing

over the matter a degree of mystery, I read to James Lemen your criticism on his poetry, as coming from "one of my most distinguished Literary Correspondents." I gave him no clue to the writer. He wriggled and twisted, looked a little foolish, but more pleased. These old fellows will never get beyond the age & feelings of *Sophomores*. I told him candidly, that though he had written many things *he thought* was poetry, yet he never wrote a line of *real* poetry until that piece, & that I sincerely advised him not publish another line, & then that effusion would redound to his credit.

I have written T. S. Arthur and recommended him to send you the "Home Gazette."²⁹ I think you will like it, & stated you would furnish him an article. A short one will be enough, a sheet written out. You can seize hold of any little incident, & weave up a descriptive sketch.

I have written a long letter to your son Spencer, and, *supposing* he had some thoughts & impressions about being a preacher, I gave a variety of suggestions how to learn what God required of him, and then made suggestions of the importance of finishing his education at Shurtleff. I told him it was a very *natural* & *common* thing for young men at college to *imagine* they could do better to *graduate* at some other Institution—that this was the result of *unsettled purposes*, and the unsteadiness of youth,—that in most instances students received damage & not benefit by changing. But you will see it of course.

Mr. Boyakin and your humble servant have been consulting about coming up to Greene County together, specially to see an old fellow by name of *Rousselle* according to the register of his ancestry in the days of Oliver de Clisson, High Constable of France. Do you know such a gentleman? He married into the "Spencer" family, another noble family of Norman French extract. The family was so named from having an uncommonly large *buttery* or "larder," and entertaining their friends with profuse hospitality. I am not certain this old man knows any thing of the high honors to which he is heir, through a long line of distinguished ancestry, He is the 499th cousin to "Lord John Russell," who has such botheration with the Pope & Cardinal Wiseman, &

²⁹ Timothy Shay Arthur (1809-1885) was a well-known writer and temperance advocate.

whose "cabinet" is in quite a shuckling [*sic*] condition.

There is but *one* difficulty in our coming up from College Commencement, June 27, and spending Sabbath—that is my crop of wheat of 7 acres, and wheat harvest will be the last week of June. If I can make previous arrangements to leave you may look for us about that time—the weather being favorable, else the last week of July. I have a lecture on the "Germans & German Missions" to give, and some other special matters.

FRIDAY JUNE 6—This forenoon I had to break up with oxen a very tough piece of new ground & tired out in two hours—took a warm bath, lay on the bed, got rested, & am now (3 oclk P.M.) up & writing.

YOURS FRATERNALLY

Tomorrow is my church
meeting day at Bethel]

J. M. PECK

VI

[No salutation; the letter is dated December 30, 1851. Several long quotations from the narratives of various explorers have been omitted. They serve as the general theme for Peck's discussion which follows.]

A long story of three octavo pages is told by Mr Keating the author & Editor of the expedition of Major S. H. Long, 1823, vol i: pp. 280-283.³⁰ To these are added observations &c. I give the substance. It was told by the "Guide" (an Indian) to Maj. Long on a former expedition in 1817, in MS.

"There was a time," our guide said, "when this spot, which you now admire for its untenanted beauties, was the scene of one of the most melancholy transactions, that ever occurred among Indians"—(Indian guides never moralize & romance thus. They tell a simple story in few words. This is Wm H. Keating's imagining.)

The story goes, "There was in the village of Keoxa,* in the tribe of Wapasha, during the time that his father

*No such name in Sioux—no X in the language. [Peck's own note.]

³⁰ William H. Keating (1799-1840) accompanied the expedition in 1823 of Maj. Stephen H. Long in the capacity of chemist and geologist and published a *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River . . . &c.*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1824).

lived and ruled over them, a young Indian female whose name was Winona, which signifies "the first born."

The story proceeds that she had fallen in love with a young hunter, who reciprocated it. They frequently met, and vowed to be married. On application to her father the hunter was denied, & his claims superceded by a warrior of distinction—a general favorite in the nation—had acquired fame by defending the village when attacked by the Chippewas; yet Winona refused him, and persisted in preferring the hunter—he would be with her,—furnish plenty of venison & buffaloe—while the warrior would be so much absent & his mind on fighting. Her parents & brothers drove off the hunter and used harsh measures to compel her to marry the warrior—she begged to live and die a maiden, but they would not listen. She had a large share in the affection of her father & family & was a favorite with her brothers. The hunter wandered through the woods, like a modern statesman "solitary & alone." She plead for him, that he was alone—had no one to spread his blanket—none to build his lodge, none to cook & dress his venison.

A party of which Winona & her family were members went to Lake Pepin to gather the blue pigment with which they paint themselves. Here the warrior came & claimed her, and preparations were made for the marriage feast, while her father & brothers insisted she should marry the warrior—she told them she would not live, stole away, ascended the rock from the bluffs in the rear, sung her death song—jumped off towards the lake, on the precipitous declivity amidst the trees & brush wood—and, there—"kicked the bucket"—"all for love."

Now if you can't make a better story than this, you deserve to jump down into Bluffdale. A few suggestions. Schoolcraft's legend for the frame-work, or skeleton, is best, more like the real Indian.³¹ *Winona* is prettily poetic, but has not an element of the Dah-cotah language in it. That is highly *guttural, aspirate & nasal*. I became acquainted, held councils, and made a vocabulary of the Dah-co-tah language in 1818, & I have extensive vocabularies of all the

³¹ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), geologist and Indian agent, discovered the true source of the Mississippi River at Lake Itasca, Minn., in 1832. He also edited collections of Indian legends.

languages & dialects of Indians of North America. But take your choice or invent a new one. I prefer Schoolcraft's *Oo-la-eta*.

It is no uncommon practice for a young girl to be compelled to marry an *old chief*; but a young *warrior* is preferred to a *hunter*. You may make an *old, coarse looking war chief* who has a wife or two already. *Suicide* among Indian females is not uncommon. Generally they hang themselves to the smallest tree that will sustain them, because they have to drag the tree after them into the "spirit land."

I have to condense much, and it will do your *genius* no harm to squeeze it like an orange. What do lovers squeeze their girls hands for but to get out the very quintescence of love.

So will *genius* bear squeezing. I enclose you a sheet, which you will please use, as it will correspond in size with mine. One sheet will make over a page (quarto size) in print—of your MS. You will please describe the scenery around, of which I enclose a rough pencil sketch. Keep in mind the girl did not jump *into* the lake, but among the rocks, trees & brush along the "precipitous slope" I have marked. A splendid engraving taken on the spot will show the scenery according to nature & your sketch will be on the adjacent page.

The *MSS* is sent to London where the work is first published, & republished in New York. I shall want this article by the 20th or 25th January. In the mean time let me see your "hand-write."

YOURS FRaternally

J. M. PECK

P.S. Judge Hall does nothing.³² The publisher relies wholly on you & me. Your name is in.

VII

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILL. FEB. 6, 1852

DEAR BRO. RUSSELL,

Yours of the 29th ult. I found on my table last night, as I came home from St. Louis, whither I had been to gather

³² James Hall (1793-1868), at one time a resident of Vandalia where he was active in both politics and journalism, published little after 1850.

materials for the "Mississippi River Illustrated." It is very strange indeed that the 4 or 5 letters (packages) I prepared Dec. 30, & were mailed Dec. 31st never reached you! I copied from Pike, Schoolcraft, & Keating in Major Long's Expedition all they said about the Indian Girl;³³ enclosed a rough pencil sketch of the precipice adjacent to Lake Pepin, gave heights, distances &c. and all the *facts* necessary, & also enclosed in separate envelopes 3 sheets of the paper I use, (of which this is a half sheet) as better to write on than any you have, paid postage on all. My postmaster is very particular. My letters to you are mailed "St. Louis D. P. O." & "distributed" there to *Carrollton*.

I copied the *prairie* on my paper, *added* in yours 2 or 3 short sentences, as near your peculiar style as I could imitate, one was the *fact* how farmers protect their property from fires by setting a "backfire," around their fences. I was not a little chagrined that Mr Witter,³⁴ the agent & partner of the Publishers who is in St. Louis, criticised several things and wanted them left out, which I positively refused. One was the idea of *loneliness*. He thought a prairie scene very lively & exhilarating. He has traveled over the vast prairies of Wisconsin & Minnesota. I told him I should not consent to any alteration. By the way I altered the closing part of the "*Frozen Family*." No man would ever think of cutting out *Wagon Spokes* to kindle a fire. Why, my dear Sir, it was a "deal box" (as the English call a pine one) and some of the wagon body he split up. And after failing in kindling a fire, they *got in* the wagon & there froze to death. By the way, a family with an *Ox team* did freeze & perish in the Wisconsin prairies, several years since. I left out the "*Prairie Robber*," as I suggested, as not corresponding with the nature of the work we are on. There are two features essential to this work, which is designed to be far above ordinary tales & sketches—

1. All the facts & things must be *on, near, or connected with the river*.
2. All statements must be well attested *facts*—only in case

³³ Peck had quoted from both Schoolcraft and Keating in the passages omitted from Letter VI.

³⁴ Conrad Witter induced Peck in 1851 to write a series of descriptions of the Mississippi Valley to accompany engraved plates of the scenery. Witter failed and the project never materialized. See Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, 345.

of Indian and other *legends*, which must be *natural*, nothing extravagant, incongruous, or unnatural. Another quality is "*multum in parvo*." *All the facts* must be worked in, with a style pleasant & graphic.

As No. 3. in which comes the "*Maiden Rock*," must be ready in about ten days, and as you are crowded for time, I will take that in hand myself, and get you to write an article on "*Sun Rise*" on the Mississippi, & send you the *Engraving*, on whh you may have room to let your imagination have full play. This article will be wanted before this month closes, but take time & do your best in *description*. Take special care of the *Engraving* & return it, as I have to return it safe to Mr Witter. In due time you will have the whole series in numbers—as they come out and reach St. Louis.

YOURS AS EVER—

J. M. PECK

VIII

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILLINOIS, MARCH 4, 1852
JOHN RUSSELL ESQ. MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am waiting with no little anxiety, to hear from you, especially concerning the article on "*Sun Rise*," for which I wrote Feb. 6th and enclosed you an outline of the things to be sketched, and an *Engraving* on the subject. Will you please to return the *Engraving*, carefully wrapped, by mail, as Mr Witter requires it. If you have failed to prepare the article from pressure of business in your school, please to inform me at once, for the work on which I am engaged admits of no delay. No 2, has gone to Europe to press some time since and No. 3, is nearly ready, though behind time. If any thing prevents your progress fail not to inform me, as I am compelled to be punctual. Have you never yet received or found the packages I had mailed Dec. 31, concerning "*Maiden Rock*"? I cannot account for that failure.

I am negotiating to sell my buildings and Improvements at Rock Spring, including 100 acres; reserving the Old Seminary building which I am repairing for a dwelling house, & my son James will make a farm in the timber east of that building, and north of the road.

The folks in Belleville are making an awful "splutter-

ation" about not getting the rail road. There are two objections. First, it causes an angle so as to increase the distance more than seven miles, which will increase the cost over \$100,000. Second, the grade at the bluff is *sixty* feet to the mile, which from Cincinnati through it will not exceed 40 feet. Several surveys have been made from Caseyville up the ravine of Little Canteen Creek which brings it about one mile south of Bethel Meeting house. Lately a new route has been found in nearly a direct line from St. Louis ferry to the crossing of the Kaskaskia, half a mile south of Carlyle. This route ascends the bluff in a ravine near the road from this place to St. Louis that heads not far from Franklin Messengers old place and runs within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile north of me and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile south of Lebanon.³⁵

In Littell's Living Age for Feb. 28, No 406, is an article of some length from the London Quarterly Review on that never-to-be-exhausted topic, the identity of *Junius*³⁶....[The balance of this paragraph and two subsequent paragraphs have been omitted because they simply summarize various theories of the authorship of the Junius letters.]

Do not fail to write me immediately and inform me if you have written, or can write "Sun-rise," and how soon? If you cannot conveniently do it, please inform me, as I must keep the numbers going regularly, & fail not to send the engraving I sent you.

AS EVER YOURS &C.

J. M. PECK

IX

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILL. MARCH 28, 1853
DEAR BRO. RUSSELL,

Yours of the 16th has been received—All right—"Go ahead." I did not imagine you would write a "history" of Chinese missions, but a *Review* of their history. But to do this well you need full and accurate knowledge of all the facts *in detail*, with the influence and effects of the Jesuit

³⁵ The Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, according to a map of 1853, ran westward from Vincennes to St. Louis and passed through St. Clair County near Lebanon.

³⁶ The Junius letters, violent Whig attacks on the government of George III, were published in book form in 1772; their author is often identified as Sir Philip Francis.

missions on the past & present condition of China. For all this you appear to have the means before you.

The general character of *our Review*, (the Christian) is calm, dignified, truthful and *impartial*. No special onslaught on Jesuits, or Romanists or any body else is needed. The Review has gained a character for dignity & impartiality. It aims to be *truthful* and not controversial. You know *Protestants* think it is virtuous to slaughter Catholics & especially Jesuits—at least in character. Baptists are not *Protestants*. A *Baptist Reviewer*, in philosophical dignity sits above all parties, looks over the whole and gives judgment according to facts.

I have no doubt your article will be successful & it must be in the July No. & be in the hands of the Editor, Rev. R. Turnbull D.D. Hartford, Connecticut early in May.³⁷ I leave home about the 19th of April. If it was in my hands I could take it, but the mail is safe, & postage but a few cents. I shall write immediately to Dr. Turnbull, and inform him of the expected article, and say all that is necessary about the character, talents & opportunities of the author. I am anxious you should make a *first rate article*, and your pen will be held in requisition for other articles. If you have too much matter for a single article, you can do as others, make two.

Have no scruples about sending your article. If you prefer, you can address it to *my name*, care of L. Colby, Publisher, 122 Nassau Street, New York, & I can look over it, examine it, & hand it to the Editor, with my *private* recommendation. I shall be in N. York first week in May, and any thing for me, addressed as above will reach me. That will be my place of address for several weeks. I shall write you frequently. Shall I order you the *Review* for this year by mail? And shall I obtain and have sent in my boxes, the preceding numbers, at least from Jan. 1850 when it commenced in New York. I suppose some of its early numbers in Boston are out of print, but I may find second hand copies—The last No. is LXXI—or commencement of Vol. XVIII.

Let me hear from you on receipt of this to *Shiloh* P.O. St. Clair County Ill.

I have written Dr. Turnbull since I wrote the above.

³⁷ Robert Turnbull (1809-1877) was a Baptist clergyman who served churches in Danbury and Hartford, Conn., wrote prolifically and edited the *Christian Review*.

So you will very likely be swallowed up in the Christian Review. I have told him of your resources, & your *French* works—and by the way he is a *French* scholar, and has translated an evangelical work by Rev. A. Vinet.³⁸

YOURS IN HASTE

J. M. PECK

P.S. One thing further—I wrote F. A. Packard,³⁹ Editor, Amer. Sun. School Union, to employ you in making a series of Sun. School books illustrative of Sunday school, educational, & *religious* affairs of this part of the Great Valley—incidents & anecdotes (truthful ones) descriptions of scenery, manners, customs, biographical sketches of children—all that sort of reading suited for children & youth, & for *Sunday* reading, &c. Mr. Packard responded, (March 7th) “Mr. Russell was formerly in our service, and his letters always indicated the pen of a ready writer, and a sprightly thinker. We want *Books of facts*—with graphic illustrations to the eye, and shall welcome them if well prepared.”—Now then for a series of books—say “*Western Sketches; by Uncle John*”—Whew, how the boys will run, buy & read. You have the whole field, from the 49th degree to the Belize is yours. Soon as I return, come to Rock Spring, spend a month or two, and I will furnish you the “*facts*” for 100 little vols—about the amount of matter of the “*Serpent Uncoiled*”—with spaces for pretty pictures—Write one soon as you have done with the Review—“*Scenes of Bluffdale, by Uncle John*”—tell some of your own struggles—sketches of the difficulties of early settlers—the *Sunday School* there—the two boys who came across the Ill. River through the tall grass & dews to the Sunday school &c &c. There was the boy murdered in Greene County & the Irishman who was hung & a hundred other events—“Go ahead.” Make up a little book & send it onto Mr Packard, and when you are once in, you may have one each month. Price for MS copy 50 cents per 1000 *letters*.

³⁸ Alexandre Vinet (1797-1847) was a French Protestant theologian who wrote studies on French literature and on Pascal.

³⁹ Frederick Adolphus Packard (1794-1867) edited the publications of the American Sunday School Union from 1829 to his death.

"Go ahead"—you may as well pocket \$500 a year & be immortalized as to have a fit of the "blues."

YOURS TRULY

J. M. PECK

MARCH 28.

Shiloh P.O. has been reestablished.

X

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILL. MARCH 29, 1853

DEAR BRO. RUSSELL—

One thing I forgot to notice yesterday, from yours of the 10th. You mention writing for monthlies, and one in Ohio, and sending your article on the Jesuit Missions in China under another caption. This can be done without complaint & according to usage in local newspapers, but not in *Reviews*, and when the articles are paid for. In the Christian Review every article must be *original*. After it is *published* in the Review, the author may work it up into another form, provided the Magazine that publishes it second however consents. And it is no uncommon thing for the writer of articles in *Reviews* afterwards to work them into Books or a compilation of his own essays. If you quote from any of your books a paragraph mark it in the margin for a change of type as I here give an example....[The illustrative paragraph, from an English magazine, has been omitted. It is marked vertically on the margin, "small, close type."]

This you perceive at once is a perfect guide to the compositor. "Close type" means not leaded, as the original matter will be.

I can open the way for you to write for the "Christian Repository," Louisville, now managed by C. D. Kirk esq. a fine scholar and a baptist.

He is quite a young man, but amiable in his manners & of refined feelings. He pays me one dollar per page. He was with J. L. Waller in the "Western Recorder," but could not stand the Wallerian excitement & has sold out that interest.⁴⁰ Waller is constantly under a preternatural excitement & on the very verge of insanity—if not hopelessly gone. He can-

⁴⁰ John L. Waller (1809-1854) edited the *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer* at Louisville from 1850 to 1854. He also established the monthly *Christian Repository* in Louisville in 1852.

not leave his bed, & every effort is made by his friends & physicians to calm him & get him to retire to the country. But he will get up and write under the most alarming excitement until perfectly exhausted.

He cannot live a month, unless he can be removed from all excitement of controversy.

I shall be in Louisville about April 22nd. and if *you* will say the word I can arrange with Kirk for you. You take my advice and write nothing but what will be useful and profitable. Mind and hoe your garden regularly & labor an hour or two daily, so as to have health & physical power. I send you a spare No. of the Repository but it is one of the poorest in matter. With your help and mine the work can be made a *No 1* for Miss Valley.

Shall I order you the work from the beginning?

Kirk will send you vol. I bound if I say so—Answer immediately.

YOURS &c

J. M. PECK

XI

ROCK SPRING (SHILOH P.O.) ILL. AUGUST 26, 1853.
PROF. RUSSELL, MY DEAR FRIEND,

I find on a reperusal of your last letter that I did not more than half answer it on the 23rd so you may look for this second answer about six days hence.

“*Peré Maxwell*”—The Editors of the Republican so fully indicated me in an editorial of July 4, as to require nothing particular from me. There was no rumor more current & more generally believed by Saint & Sinner, Catholic & Protestant than that of *Peré Maxwell* praying off the waters from the Ste. Genevieve “common fields,” and getting his share in corn, as when I came to Missouri. I heard it from French & Americans, Catholics & protestants, and that interesting religious “Sect,” old parson Morse,⁴¹ in his Geography denominated “nothingarians.” And since I received it I have scarcely come in contact with an old citizen of 1811, but

⁴¹ Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) was a Congregational minister, but he is best known for his various pioneer works on American geography.

recollects it. Gov. Reynolds⁴² told me that he would go into court and swear that the story was told & believed among the French in Illinois for some years after. And yet I am half inclined to make an humble Confession to Archbishop Kenrick⁴³, who has attacked me in an outlandish manner in the Catholic paper of which he is editor, that it was all a mistake—all a protestant libel—not a word of truth in it. Peré Maxwell never made any “bargain” about saying mass over the river—never got a bushel of corn. It was all in a “*Pickwickian*,” alias “Catholic” sense. True, he said mass, counted his beads, prayed down the waters, but the efficacy was not in *him*—poor sinner—but in the *church*—“Holy Mother Church.” True the corn went into Peré Maxwell’s corn-crib—and the priest’s—stop—the *church’s* horses & hogs eat it. But no priest ever receives pay for praying away waters, or praying souls out of purgatory—or pardoning the peccadillos of poor Catholics—All the contribution goes to the *Church*, & Peré Maxwell was only a humble representative of the *church*. Peré M. was a tipler. He was a real Irishman, jolly, full of fun, would fiddle, dance, get drunk, & carry on like a high fellow. He loved the “*G’hals*” too as the *naughty* homes of St. Louis could testify, and the doctor would shake his head and look wise and keep all secret, when he got the—distemper. But this was not “Peré” Maxwell—oh no—no *priest* ever did this. It was Irish *Jemmy* who cut up such shines—It was *James Maxwell*—not the Catholic priest of Ste. Genevieve. This *James* was a sharper with spotted pasteboard, as many a [word illegible] doctor & lawyer could testify. Even Hon. *John Scott* could testify (if his memory had not entirely failed) how this *James* skinned him one night of the last picayune, but, mind ye this was not the *priest*, no—the “*church*” never does such *naughty* tricks. It was a wild, wicked Irishman by name of *James Maxwell*—And this same Irishman in 1814, while drunk, ran a high spirited horse, & was thrown, his head struck a rock and it dashed his brains out! The wicked rascal deserved it. But do not fancy it was *Peré Maxwell*. He, good priest, died without the holy Sacrament of extreme unction & his

⁴² John Reynolds (1788-1865), governor of Illinois, 1830-1834, was an intimate friend of both Peck and Russell.

⁴³ Francis Patrick Kenrick (1796-1863) was the Catholic archbishop of Baltimore.

blessed Soul went to purgatory, for the deliverance of which the priests in St. Louis, Cahokia, Kaskaskia "and all cities of shame" said masses & counted beads, and did their very best to effect his escape, while *James Maxwell* went directly to the "*badplace*" & no mistake. Now you see I made a fatal blunder in not distinguishing the *priest* from the *man*, and giving corn to the *Church* and paying *Peré Maxwell*.

By the way I have learned from those who have seen it that there is a document in the possession of Gen. M. L. Clark,⁴⁴ Surveyor General of Mo. & Ill. that *proves* the story of Peré Maxwell getting the corn &c. Soon as Gen. Clark returns home, I can get access to it. As I concur with you in the injurious practise of ultraists telling so many "raw-head-and-bloody-bone" stories about Catholics, I am particularly cautious not to lay anything to the *priest* but all to the *man*.

This is the true *Catholic* sense of such stories. You inquired some time since for an elementary & *late* work on Geology. There is a 12mo volume recently published, from Rev. Dr. Anderson of Scotland which is the very thing.⁴⁵ Mr Crowell noticed it not long since.⁴⁶ I am projecting my arrangements so as to be at Carrollton on Monday night Sept. 22, to Lecture on the *Germans and German Missions*. You & Mr. Boyakin must rally out the folks.

You see I am getting ahead of you fast in letters. Please "poney up."

YOURS AS EVER
J. M. PECK.

XII

COVINGTON, KY. JANUARY 14, 1854. *Saturday.*
DEAR BRO. RUSSELL—

Yours of the 6th came two days since. Doct. Lynd, Madame Rumor says, is *doctoring* "King Jeems' Varsion," being one of the "Eminent scholars" employed on that "mending" operation.

⁴⁴ Meriwether Lewis Clark was the son of William Clark, co-leader of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

⁴⁵ John Anderson (1795-1864), a Scottish minister, published *The Course of Creation* (London, 1850).

⁴⁶ William Crowell was a Baptist minister who edited the *Christian Watchman* at Boston.

He ought to have something to keep his head above water for the project of moving Covington Institute to Georgetown where he is gone & has five students of all "sorts & sizes" will surely prove a failure. I sent you the Memorial of P. S. Bush & several other trustees. It was drawn up by Gov. Morehead⁴⁷ from the "Proceedings of the General Convention of Western Baptists" for the series of years from 1833 to 1841, all which (but one) I attended. Gov. M. says there cannot be a doubt with those facts of any Court sanctioning the act of the majority of the trustees in their attempt at removal.

A letter from Bro. Bush who is at Frankfort to head off this Georgetown movement, received last night says of my "memorial," (a brief written one, in my own name & that of the denomination in Missouri and Illinois) "it was immediately presented to the lower house, with the statement that Rev. Dr. Peck was the mover of the first resolutions ever offered in relation to the Institute. It was read by request (not a common thing) "and referred to the Committee in charge of the subject of removal. It had its effect, for one of our opposing Trustees turned quite red & shortly after told me that *you* had no right to speak for the state named, as you had become a Kentuckian. I replied (says Bush) that the hand should not rebel against its maker."

I send you a memorial of J. D. McGill & others, who consent to a *division* of the funds between north & south, but not to a removal to Georgetown or any where else, unless a Convention of Western or South Western Baptists, fairly called from all the states vote to change the location. Should the Legislature commit the foolish blunder of authorizing a majority of the trustees to remove the property they will be met promptly by an injunction from the Court of Chancery which will settle all questions. Deacon Bush writes that McGill's project (see his memorial) will be very likely to pass. Tennessee sends on a strong remonstrance. Elder W. C. Bush is strong against division & removal. You will see his views shortly in the *Watchman*.

I am situated exceedingly comfortable—have a warm room both night & day, an air tight stove & burn maple,

⁴⁷ James Turner Morehead (1797-1854) served as governor of Kentucky, 1834-1836.

beech & ash wood seasonal, at \$5 per cord & \$1 for cutting and bringing it up to my room—board half a square off in an excellent private family at \$3 per week—I have given lectures & held prayer meetings this & last week on evenings—No special revival—Members becoming attracted to me—Sunday School reorganized & increasing—Tomorrow I commence lectures to them from 10 to 15 minutes—have a large map of Palestine against the wall. Yesterday though cold & stormy I visited among some poor members in the back streets with one of the deacons to show me the way. They said no pastor had called on them for many years, & of course neglected going to meeting—said they would come now for they heard I was a good man & not proud.

What a set of silly, gentlemanly blockheads about two thirds of the pastors of churches are, not to visit & pray with every class, & especially the poor & infirm & aged.

I am at work on "Father Clark,"⁴⁸ about half the day, in the forenoon—P.M. make calls & visit—Eve, when no lectures or prayer meetings, I read, papers, periodicals & books—if I only had *you* in a room opposite my door, fixed as comfortable as I am, it would be the climax of social & literary & religious enjoyment.

Can't you climb a telegraph pole in your county, straddle the wires & come like a streak of lightning & spend a few weeks with me.

The magnificent Edifice in which I occupy a corner on the second floor, has two stories above me & is most certainly *haunted*. When the wind blows, I hear at the "witching hour of night" the most unearthly groans, the elves & sprites are slamming doors, running up & down stairs & making the most hideous noises.

Oh! if you were here for only half a dozen nights, we should have such a tale of *haunted houses*, as I'm afraid never will be written. Talk about ghosts rapping on tables! Pshaw—"taint a priming" to Covington Institute, where the sounds reverberate through its vacant halls & rooms. These are ghosts of the very biggest sort. Come & write their history.

⁴⁸ Peck published his biography, *Father Clark; or the Pioneer Preacher*, in 1855. John Clark (1758-1833) was a famous early missionary.

Dont fail to write often. Let me know all about the principality of Bluffdale.

YOURS SINCERELY—

J. M. PECK.

XIII

ROCK SPRING, (*Shiloh P.O.*) ILL. AUG. 10, 1854.

REV. DOCT. RUSSELL, DEAR BROTHER—

Yours of the fourth inst came into my hands last evening. It must be a very "sickly," if not a "swampy" country where you live. Down here it is very *healthy*—very rarely a case of sickness is heard of. Belleville is *very healthy*. The only deaths in the county are from *Coup du Soleil*, and drinking "*cold* water, while *hot*, among the *Deutsche* & Irish. But "*Lager bier*" & whiskey ruined by drugs & poisons the *true* cause.

You can't imagine what a temperance *Camp-meeting* we had at Shiloh on the second inst. Mr. Yates the lecturer & agent in Southern Ill. & made two capital speeches, one before & the other after dinner. The folks called out "your humble servent," as the old Ranger used to say, & would not take *NO* for an answer, & he *giv it to 'em* for three fourths of an hour. . . .

There were over 300, old & young, male & female present, & at the close *all* voted for the "Maine Law," except one man who crept off. By the Maine Law it was explained *prohibitory law*, in such a form as to suit the state—that would dig up root & branch the retail liquor trade—Mr Yates has come from "all the way down east" (Maine) within a few months, and he has the best stock of *common sense* I have seen from *Yankeedom* since you & I came. He "*takes*" with the people down South every where.⁴⁹ The politicians are getting *orfully skeered*, with anti-Nebraska on one hand, and anti-whiskey on the other, and the people up in shoals—There is an effort made to get out *Jehu Baker*⁵⁰ for Congress, the young men you talked with to ride the antislavery hobby—Next Monday the Court meets, the Agricultural Society

⁴⁹ Rev. Freeman Yates was agent of the Illinois Temperance Alliance. "Old Ranger" was a sobriquet of John Reynolds.

⁵⁰ Jehu Baker (1822-1903) served as Congressman and diplomat.

holds its quarterly meeting, and I expect there will be some "tall speaking" about politics.

I heard this morning that Elder Pulliam was not expected to live—I am going to see him tomorrow if he is alive.⁵¹ The news from St. Louis is that Benton is beaten past all hope⁵²—and that a terrific riot & burning houses occurred on Monday. Several persons killed . . . I have just finished another article for the *Christian Review* of about 18 pp. print. It is a Review of the presbyterians in western Pennsylvania & the "Western Reserve," and the great revivals that prevailed the latter part of the 18th & beginning of the 19th centuries.

Entrè nous—I have been written to, to take charge (*editorially*) of the *Christian Repository*, at Louisville. It is owned & published by Rev. S. H. Ford, an amiable, kind hearted fellow.⁵³ Dr. Waller has claimed a sort of pre-emption right to manage it, but he has an appointment to a college in Mississippi, & is willing to surrender, provided I will take it. It has a good basis, some 4000 paying subscribers in the S. W. States & can be made a first rate monthly. What is your opinion? Shall I undertake the affair? I need not go from Rock Spring. The mail can do all the transportation. If I undertake it, we shall give \$1 per page for good well written articles & make it a liberal denominational concern. Write & keep well.

YOURS FRATERNALLY,

J. M. PECK

XIV

[The following fragment is undated.]

Heath & Graves would give "at least" 50 cents for 1000 letters. This they give to females, who make children's books. But they told me they did not expect to get persons of talent & known as writers, for so low a rate. They did not say what amount, but said they would do as well as any house. They exchange with the "Publications Society" and

⁵¹ James Pulliam of Belleville contributed a substantial fund to aid indigent students in the Baptist ministry.

⁵² Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858), for thirty years United States Senator from Missouri, was defeated in 1850.

⁵³ Samuel Howard Ford (1823-1905), once a classmate of Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff for whom the college was named, was a Baptist minister and the editor of *The Christian Repository* after it was moved to St. Louis.

with several publishers, & their books have a good run. I know you can make them a series that would be popular, & profitable to you & them, but to do anything for anybody, you must get the foolish & crazy notions out of your imagination of "insults," "degr'd" [sic], and "slave." You can make \$5 per day in a series of books, and as to topics when your inventive power is exhausted, let me know & I will tell you of 20 more. There is a wide and exhaustless field in this Valley to illustrate character, scenery & events. Stick down your stakes of "facts," as you would mark a new road, over the prairies, and let your imagination play round them. You might make a dozen books from the incidents, and scenes you have witnessed yourself. Even "James Boxley," was a student of yours at Rock Spring, though that James Boxley had not sense enough to break a barometer. Now what do you think of the flagellation [sic] I have given you, *all for your good*. Have I not dissected you—turned you inside out, and made you look at your own "in'ards"?

I will give you the titles of some of the books I expect to make. Everyone will be matters of *truth & reality*—"facts & nothing but facts"—in the sense I have explained to you.

1. "The Indian Captive," or Life of John Tanner.⁵⁴ This will illustrate Indian character.

2. "Father Clark," or the Pioneer of Missouri. This will show up preaching, education, schools &c. from 1796.

3. "The Wreck of the Shepherdess"—4. "The Backwoods Girl"—a true story in Crawford County, Illinois but it will illustrate Daniel Parker & his tribe [word illegible].

5. "The Pioneer Mother," in which old mother Lemen & her family will be the theme.

6. "The First Sunday School," in which Berry [?] Meachum & the darkies will figure.⁵⁵ I can invent 100 books, all of which shall portray some distinct feature of frontier life & character. And finally I can close the series with "The Insult," or the man with a diseased imagination.

YOURS SINCERELY

J. M. PECK.

⁵⁴ John Tanner (1780?-1847) was captured by Indians and remained in their hands for thirty years. He later served as interpreter for Schoolcraft and wrote his own narrative of his experiences.

⁵⁵ John Berry Meachum (1789-1864) was born a slave, bought his own freedom and served as pastor of the First African Baptist Church in St. Louis.

LITTLE EDDIE LINCOLN— “WE MISS HIM VERY MUCH”

BY HARRY E. PRATT

IN his farewell address to Springfield, February 11, 1861, President-elect Abraham Lincoln said: "Here I have lived a quarter of a century. . . . Here my children have been born, and one is buried." This was Lincoln's second son, Edward Baker, who lived from March 10, 1846 to February 1, 1850. He was named for Edward Dickinson Baker, a close friend of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. The other three boys were named for relatives. (See page 306 for other data on Baker.)

Mr. Lincoln described his infant son at seven months as "very much such a child as Bob was at his age—rather of a longer order."¹ When Eddie was a year and a half old, the Lincolns took him and Robert, his four-year-old brother, to Kentucky for a month-long visit with relatives in Lexington. From there they went up the Ohio River and over the mountains to Washington, D. C., where Abraham was to be the only Whig congressman from Illinois. Mrs. Lincoln found living through a winter at Mrs. Sprigg's boarding house very trying, and in the spring returned to Kentucky. The lonesome father wrote "little letters" to his boys and long ones to his wife. On April 16, 1848 he reported on his fruitless search in the stores for little plaid stockings for "Eddy's dear little feet," but added that he had a "notion to make another trial to-morrow."²

¹ Lincoln to Joshua F. Speed, Oct. 22, 1846, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed.), I: 391. Hereafter cited as *Collected Works*.

² "Dear Eddy thinks father is 'gone tapila' [to the capitol?]." Lincoln to Mrs. Lincoln, April 16, 1848, *ibid.*, I: 465-66.

Mrs. Lincoln wrote from Lexington in May:

Our little Eddy, has recovered from his little spell of sickness. Dear boy, I must tell you a little story about him. Bob[b]y in his wanderings to day, came across in a yard, a little kitten, *your hobby*. He says he asked a man for it, he brought it triumphantly to the house, so soon as Eddy, spied it his *tenderness* broke forth, he made them bring it *water* fed it with bread himself, with his *own dear hands*, he was a delighted little creature over it, in the midst of his happiness Ma came in, she you must know dislikes the whole cat race, I thought in a very unfeeling manner, she ordered the servant near, to throw it out, which of *course*, was done. Ed. screaming & protesting loudly against the proceeding, *she* never appeared to mind his screams, which were long & loud, I assure you. . . . Do not fear the children, have forgotten you, I was only jesting. Even E. eyes brighten at the mention of your name. My love to all.³

When Lincoln's speaking tour in New England on behalf of Zachary Taylor in the fall of 1848 was over, it is likely that he was joined somewhere in the East by Mrs. Lincoln and the boys who had come on from Kentucky. It is of record that Lincoln sailed on the new steamer *Globe* from Buffalo on September 26. The ship docked on October 5 at Chicago after a nine-day cruise of 1,047 miles around the Great Lakes. The press noted that Lincoln and his family were at the Sherman House.⁴ The Lincolns started for home on the morning of October 7, going to Peoria by way of the Illinois and Michigan

³ Mrs. Lincoln to Lincoln, May, 1848. Original in Ill. State Hist. Lib. "Ma" was Mrs. Lincoln's stepmother, Mrs. Robert S. Todd.

⁴ Levi North to Lyman Trumbull, Kewanee, Ill., April 16, 1864: "Mr. Lincoln may remember that in Oct., 1848, he came around the Lakes on the Steamer *Globe* and that he and I held a debate on two days, on that trip, in which he defended Old Zach & I defended the Free Soil *Platform*." Original in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

For *Globe* sailing, see *Buffalo Commercial*, Sept. 26; *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 29; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1848. The *Chicago Daily Journal*, Oct. 6, 7, mentions Lincoln's registration at the Sherman House and his speech at a Whig rally on the evening of Oct. 6 to a large crowd which adjourned from the courthouse to the public square in Chicago.

"Hon. A. Lincoln and Family passed down to Springfield this morning on his way home from Congress." *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1848.

Canal and the Illinois River, and from there by stage to Springfield.

Lincoln returned to Washington late in November to attend the short session of the Thirtieth Congress. During his four-months' absence Mrs. Lincoln, Robert and Edward did not live in the Lincoln home since it was being rented by Mason Brayman.⁵ Among the places they may have stayed were the Globe Tavern, Mrs. Catherine Early's boarding house, or the home of one of Mrs. Lincoln's sisters.

Thus when Edward Baker Lincoln died before his fourth birthday he had traveled several thousand miles, and had lived at home but three-fifths of his life. Almost all the last two months of this time he had been ill. His fifty-two days' illness⁶ must have been difficult for the Lincolns, and particularly hard on the mother, who seldom could summon the extra courage needed in a crisis. Huldah Briggs Stout, "near and favorite neighbor," as Lincoln called her, was among those who may have aided in the care of the sick boy.⁷

Little Eddie died at six o'clock on the morning of February 1, 1850. Funeral services were held at the home at eleven o'clock the following morning with the Rev. James Smith, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, officiating. Dr. Smith "at the suggestion of a lady friend of theirs, called upon Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, and that first visit resulted in great intimacy and friendship between them, lasting till the death of Mr. Lincoln and continuing with Mrs. Lincoln till the death of Dr. Smith" in 1871. Eddie was buried in Hutchinson's Cemetery, a timbered knoll eight blocks west of Springfield's public

⁵ Cornelius Ludlum paid the rent for November and December, 1847, and January, 1848; thereafter Mason Brayman, Springfield attorney, paid the rent, the last payment being made on May 9, 1849. *Collected Works*, I: 406-7.

⁶ "He was sick fiftytwo days & died the morning of the first day of this month.... We miss him very much." Lincoln to John D. Johnston, *ibid.*, II: 76-77.

⁷ Lincoln wrote on Feb. 15, 1850 to John Tillson, and on March 29 to Joseph Gillespie, soliciting their aid in obtaining an inheritance which Mrs. Stout claimed was due to her. Lincoln's intimate knowledge of the family, and the fact that she lived one block south of the Lincoln Home, lend some credence to the belief that Mrs. Stout helped care for Edward during his long illness. *Ibid.*, II: 73; VIII: 592.

square.⁸ A week later there appeared in the *Illinois Journal* this unsigned poem:

[By Request.]

LITTLE EDDIE.

Those midnight stars are sadly dimmed,
That late so brilliantly shone,
And the crimson tinge from cheek and lip,
With the heart's warm life has flown—
The angel death was hovering nigh,
And the lovely boy was called to die.

The silken waves of his glossy hair
Lie still over his marble brow,
And the pallid lip and pearly cheek
The presence of Death avow.
Pure little bud in kindness given,
In mercy taken to bloom in heaven.

Happier far is the angel child
With the harp and the crown of gold,
Who warbles now at the Saviour's feet
The glories to us untold.
Eddie, meet blossom of heavenly love,
Dwells in the spirit-world above.

Angel boy—fare thee well, farewell
Sweet Eddie, we bid thee adieu!
Affection's wail cannot reach thee now,
Deep though it be, and true.
Bright is the home to him now given,
For "of such is the kingdom of Heaven."⁹

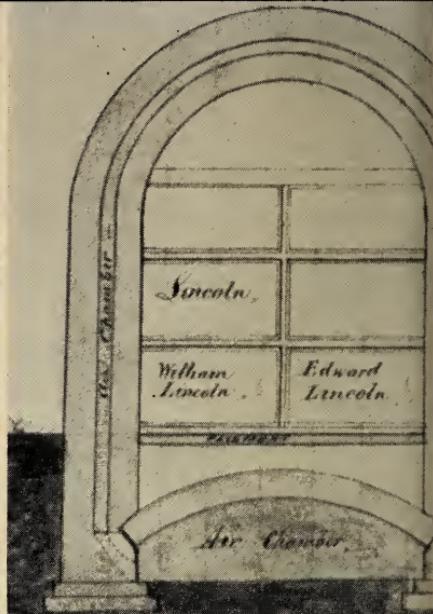
These twenty-four lines are in the mood of Lincoln's favorite poem "Mortality" by William Knox, of which he

⁸ *Illinois Daily Journal* (Springfield), Feb. 2, 1850.

The quotation concerning Dr. Smith is in John T. Stuart to Rev. James A. Reed, Springfield, Dec. 17, 1872, Douglas C. McMurtrie, ed., *Lincoln's Religion* (Chicago, 1936), 57.

On Sept. 3, 1859, Lincoln and eighteen other "proprietors of lots in Hutchinsons Cemetery, in the City of Springfield, Illinois, constitute and appoint John Hutchinson our agent to take charge, and general superintendence of said Cemetery, until Febrary 1st. 1861—which agent is assured any expenses which he, in his discretion, may incur, in such superintendence, we bind ourselves to pay." *Collected Works*, III: 399.

⁹ *Illinois Daily Journal*, Feb. 7, 1850.



THE LINCOLN TOMB 1865-1871

Located on the hillside in Oak Ridge Cemetery fifty yards northeast of the present Tomb this vault held the bodies of President Lincoln and his sons William and Edward until the autumn of 1871, after which it was torn down. The drawing at the right showing the crypts is from the "Minutes of the National Lincoln Monument Association."

wrote: "I would give all I am worth, and go in debt, to be able to write so fine a piece as I think that is."¹⁰ The poem "Little Eddie" closes with the line "For 'of such is the kingdom of Heaven.'" These words are also carved on the beautiful marble tombstone which the Lincolns erected at the grave of their son. Thus it may not be unreasonable to believe that Lincoln composed "Little Eddie."

In December, 1865 the temporary tomb for the body of President Lincoln was completed. Mrs. Lincoln selected December 21 for the removal of the bodies.¹¹ Six crypts were provided in the brick structure on the side hill northeast of the present Tomb, and the body of Edward Baker Lincoln was removed from Hutchinson's Cemetery to Oak Ridge Cemetery on December 13.¹² Thus it was in place when Mrs. Lincoln, Robert and her cousin John T. Stuart visited the cemetery on the morning of the reburial. The sight of the burial places of her husband and sons William and Edward unnerved Mrs. Lincoln and she remained in her room at the Chenery House

¹⁰ Lincoln to Andrew Johnston, April 18, 1846, *Collected Works*, I: 377-79.

¹¹ Minute Book, National Lincoln Monument Association, in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

¹² Record in office of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill.

in the afternoon, returning to Chicago with Robert in the evening. They had arrived on the early morning train.¹³

The marble slab, twenty-four by forty-eight by two inches, at Edward Baker Lincoln's grave from 1850 to 1865 has lain face down in the ground for many years, marking the entrance to the burial plot of Governor Ninian Edwards and his descendants, on the hill north of the Lincoln Tomb. Mrs. Lincoln had given it to her eldest sister, Elizabeth Todd Edwards, who was married to the Governor's son Ninian Wirt Edwards. The name "Edwards" was then carved in large letters on the back of the Edward Baker Lincoln stone. When the marble slab was recently turned over the carving placed there at Lincoln's direction could be read easily as shown by the illustration.¹⁴

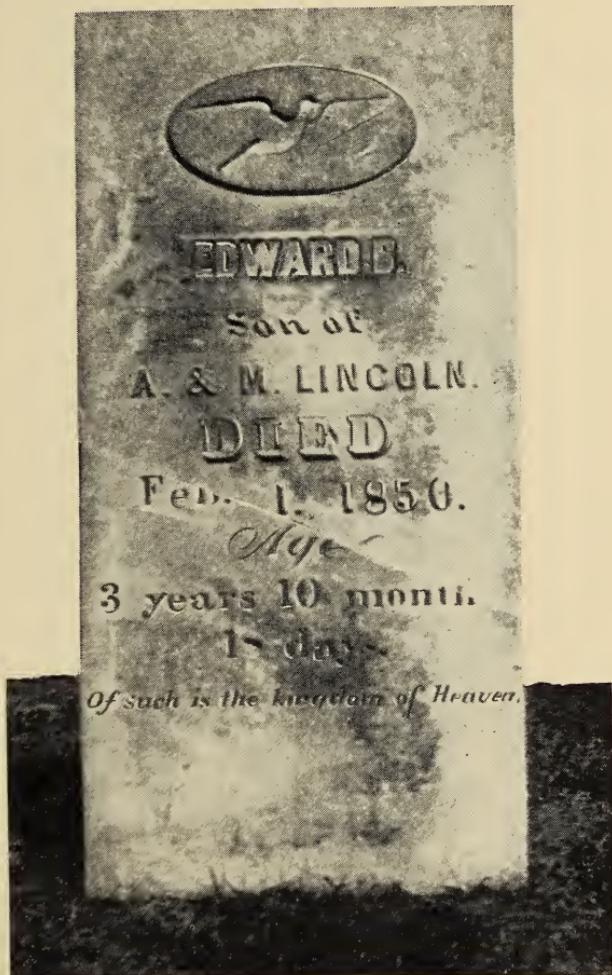


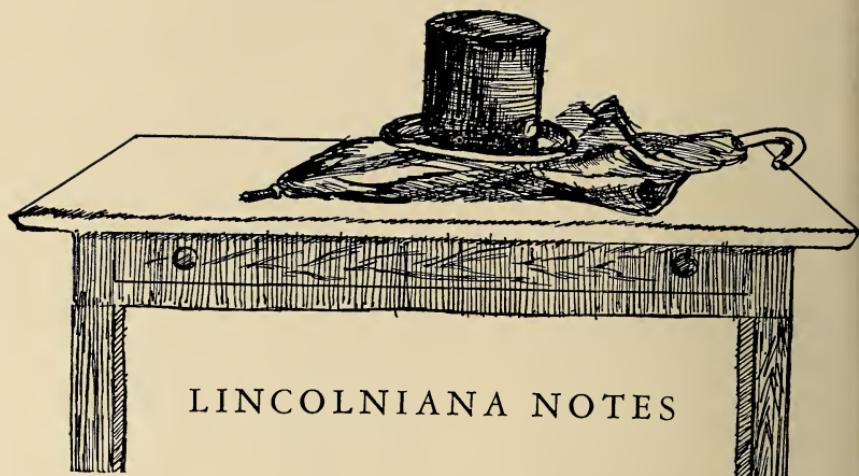
Photo by William A. Steiger

EDWARD BAKER LINCOLN'S TOMBSTONE

The lettering on this recently uncovered marker reads, "EDWARD B. Son of A. & M. LINCOLN. DIED Feb. 1. 1850. Aged 3 years 10 months 18 [21] days. *Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.*"

¹³ *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 21, 1865; *Illinois State Journal*, Dec. 22, 1865.

¹⁴ The marker was uncovered on Aug. 13, 1954 by Arnold Kugler, managing director of Oak Ridge Cemetery, in the presence of William A. Steiger and Mr. and Mrs. Harry E. Pratt. Mrs. Mary Edwards Brown (granddaughter of Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards) who had been told of the marker by her mother, gave permission for its removal to the Illinois State Historical Library. A new entrance stone has replaced it.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

SENATOR-ELECT BAKER VISITS SPRINGFIELD

Edward Dickinson Baker, a longtime friend of Lincoln's, was elected United States Senator from Oregon at the same time Lincoln was elected President. At the request of Lincoln he came to Springfield to make a personal report on his way to Washington. During this visit he presented the Lincolns an oil portrait of himself—now hanging in the Governor's Mansion in Springfield. At a reception which overflowed the Statehouse Baker responded to a speech of welcome by James C. Conkling. His remarks were reported in the *Illinois State Journal* (December 28, 1860) in part as follows:

... He remembered well when he was first, a mere boy, elected a member of the Legislature, as one of the "long nines" from Sangamon, the *longest of whom* has now obtained the highest position in the world. (Applause.) And again he recalled the time, when perhaps too ambitious, he claimed the people's suffrages for Congress. Now he held a still higher position from a far distant Pacific State. . . .

He thought Mr. Lincoln would do his duty—enforce the laws, fugitive slave law and others, or perjure himself, and he knew Lincoln was not the man to do that. He spoke not

by authority, but he said of the man what he did after thirty years [twenty-six] acquaintance. He knew that Lincoln would be true to himself and the Union.

The speaker then drew a very striking contrast between



EDWARD DICKINSON BAKER

From the painting he presented the Lincolns in 1860, which was given to the State of Illinois by Mrs. Lincoln in 1872.

the state of this country and Europe at the present time. We were endeavoring to separate—to part. Garibaldi and his followers were consolidating—uniting after being isolated and antagonistic for centuries. Col. Baker then closed with a touching tribute of thanks for the kind reception he had received—reverted with affecting beauty of language to the time when the gray-haired men around him were boys, and concluded by pledging himself to stand by Mr. Lincoln, both in his official capacity and as a private friend. . . .

English-born, Baker began the practice of law in Carrollton, Illinois, moved to Springfield in 1835 where he formed a partnership with Stephen T. Logan, later Lincoln's partner. On July 4, 1837, Baker gave the address at the cornerstone laying of the new capitol in Springfield. He served in the Illinois House with Lincoln (1837-1840), and in the Illinois Senate (1840-1844). He represented the Springfield district in the Twenty-ninth Congress (preceding Lincoln's term) and the Galena district in the Thirty-first. In 1852 Baker went to California where he was successful as a lawyer and public speaker. He removed to Oregon in 1860.

A strong Union man, a veteran of the Black Hawk War and colonel of the Fourth Illinois Regiment in the Mexican War, Baker accepted a colonel's commission at the outbreak of the Civil War and was killed at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, October 22, 1861. His funeral services were conducted in the White House. A biographical sketch of Baker was published in this *Journal* in April, 1916, pages 23-42.

PEORIA WHIGS SUMMON LINCOLN

Through the aid of Ernest E. East, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, there has come to the Historical Library the famous letter inviting Lincoln to speak in Peoria on October 16, 1854. Lincoln accepted and delivered his well-known three-hour speech that evening in reply to an equally long one by Douglas at the courthouse steps in the afternoon. Lincoln's speech, which rang the "changes on the white man's charter of freedom," was an improved version of his speech at Bloomington on September 26 and in Springfield on October 4. He wrote it out for the *Illinois Daily Journal* of Springfield soon after its delivery. (*Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, II: 247-83). "It is a landmark in his career," wrote Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. "It . . . lays the abiding foundation of everything he thought thereafter."

The letter from Peoria was as follows:

HON. ABRAM LINCOLN

PEORIA SEPT. 28/54

Dr Sir:

Understanding that Judge Douglas is expected to address our citizens on the 16th. of next month on the principles of the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, and feeling that what he may then advance should not be suffered to pass without suitable notice—the undersigned, on behalf of themselves and the Whigs of Peoria, are exceedingly desirous that (if not too great a tax upon your time & strength) you will consent to be present, and take a convenient opportunity, after the

speech of Judge D., to reply to it, and give us your own views upon the subject. Permit us to say here, that we are not unmindful of the good service you have heretofore repeatedly rendered us, nor insensible of what we already owe you on that account: But this then rather encourages us to solicit & look for a renewal of the favor.

Hoping you may find it convenient to respond favorably to our wish, and that, at no distant day, it may be in our power to testify our high & warm appreciation of your patriotic & efficient public services, We remain very truly

Your friends & fellow citizens—

Jno Hamlin	Jonathan K Cooper
A P Bartlett	C W McClallen
Lorin G Pratt	Thomas Bryant
Joseph C Frye	John T Lindsay
C Ballance	Jno A McCoy
Geo C Bestor	D. D. Irons
Jno. D Arnold	V Dewein
Hugh W. Reynolds	A. McCoy
	Wm. A. Herron
	John Dredge
	Edward Dickinson
	John King

"LOOK UP THE OLD ALMANAC"

President and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, son Tad, and a few others, set off on the *River Queen* on March 23, 1865 for a visit to General Grant's army at City Point, Virginia. Soon after their arrival a series of telegrams passed between the President and Secretary of War Stanton regarding the raising of the flag over Fort Sumter on the fourth anniversary of its surrender by Major Robert Anderson to General P. G. T. Beauregard. Two of Lincoln's telegrams have been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Gideon Stanton, grandson of the Secretary. They are unusual because they are in pencil, which the President seldom employed, and will be unique among more than a thousand documents in Lincoln's handwriting in the Historical Library. The two telegrams are printed with

annotations in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed.). They read as follows:

CITY POINT, VA.
MARCH 27. 1865. 3/35. PM.

HON. SEC. OF WAR.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Yours inclosing Fort-Sumpter order received. I think of but one suggestion. I feel quite confident that Sumpter fell on the thirteenth (13th.) and not on the fourteenth (14th.) of April as you have it. It fell on Saturday the 13th.—the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday the 14th. and given date, and issued on Monday the 15th. Look up the old Almanac & other data and see if I am not right.

A. LINCOLN

CITY-POINT, VA
MARCH 28. 1865. 12. M.

HON. SEC. OF WAR.
WASHINGTON D. C.

After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort-Sumpter ceremony takes place on the 13th. or 14th.

Gen. Sherman tells me he is well acquainted with James Yeatman, & that he thinks him almost the best man in the country for anything he will undertake.

A. LINCOLN

"SIX MONTHS IN THE WHITE HOUSE"

Mrs. Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, a cousin of Mary Todd Lincoln, attended the inauguration on March 4, 1861 and remained at the White House for six months at Mrs. Lincoln's request. Mrs. Grimsley (1825-1895) was a daughter of Dr. John Todd, a prominent physician of Springfield, Illinois, brother of Mrs. Lincoln's father Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Kentucky.¹

Years after her sojourn in Washington Mrs. Grimsley

wrote her recollections of "Six Months in the White House," which were published in this *Journal*, Volume XIX (October, 1926-January, 1927) on pages 43-73. The manuscript of this interesting account of people and events has been given to the Historical Library by Mrs. Grimsley's three granddaughters, Mary Grimsley Donaldson (Mrs. Roy F.), Alethea Grimsley Anderson (Mrs. Raymond A.) and Elizabeth Grimsley Seibert (Mrs. Edward C.). The few differences between the manuscript and the printed version in the *Journal* will be of interest.

In describing Willie Lincoln Mrs. Grimsley wrote: "Willie, a noble beautiful boy of nine [ten] years, thoughtful, grave beyond his years, of great mental activity, unusual intelligence, wonderful memory, methodical, frank and loving, a counterpart of his Father, save that he was handsome." The omission (page 48) of "thoughtful, grave beyond his years" takes away some of the vividness of the description.

Mrs. Grimsley wrote: "The Bishop [Archbishop John Hughes of New York] made his appearance in the drawing room, where were quite a number to meet him, attended by one of his priests, attired richly and elegantly. He was a courtly man and had the inimitable manner of one accustomed to deference and adulation." This was revised (page 60) to read: "The Archbishop, richly and elegantly attired, and attended by one of his priests, made his appearance in the drawing room, where were quite a number to meet him. He was a courtly man. . . ."

At the dinner for the French prince "Plon Plon," General Winfield Scott is described by Mrs. Grimsley as a "magnificent old man, leaning on the arm of McClellan. Six foot four leaning on five foot eight! and as one expressed it, 'History waiting on prophecy, memory upon Hope.'" A typographical error (page 70) omitted "leaning on five foot eight! and as one," making the ludicrous reading "Six foot four expressed it, 'History'"

Lincoln is described by Mrs. Grimsley as saddened by the war preparations, "as he realized more fully the jeopardized state of the country, and what these preparations betokened of death and suffering." The *Journal* shortens this to "as he realized what these preparations betokened. . . ."

Minor errors transformed "numbers of cultivated, refined, intellectual and wealthy people" to "members of . . ." (page 51); made Franklin Buchanan commander of the "navy guard" instead of the "Navy yard" (page 51); prohibited the appearance of the President's wife "at social functions of the Mansion" instead of "at social functions outside of the Mansion" (page 51); made Douglas "sometimes called" the Little Giant, instead of being "familiarly known" by that name (page 61); transferred the styles of "This present age" to "That age" (page 62); made the army march "to the Potomac" instead of "across the Potomac" on its way to Bull Run (page 65); and said that "The Lombard Brothers popularized battlefields" instead of "The Lombard Brothers popularized the first [war song 'Rally Round the Flag'], then it spread to camps and battlefields" (page 67).

Portions of two pages of the manuscript have been cut off and replaced by typed paragraphs, *verbatim* as they appear in the printed version (the third complete paragraph on page 49, and the last part of the final paragraph on page 69, beginning "and if the President preferred. . . ."). As both paragraphs deal with controversies between Secretary Seward and Mrs. Lincoln about precedence in social affairs, it is a fair assumption that Mrs. Grimsley spoke more frankly than was considered seemly at the time the account was published.

FROM DR. SHUTES' LINCOLN COLLECTION

Dr. Milton H. Shutes of Carmel, California, author of *Lincoln and the Doctors* (1933) and *Lincoln and California* (1943), recently donated four interesting items from his Lin-

coln collection to the Illinois State Historical Library. They are a volume from the Lincoln and Herndon law library; an English grammar formerly owned by William H. Herndon; a broadside published by the Lincoln National Monument Association; and a letter to President Lincoln recommending Colonel Philip Sidney Post of the Fifty-ninth Illinois Volunteers for the rank of brigadier general.

This letter, written on Executive Department of the State of Illinois stationery, Springfield, November 29, 1864 is signed by Governor Richard Yates, Secretary of State Ozias M. Hatch, Auditor Jesse K. Dubois and five others. Governor Yates had been informed that Generals Sherman, Thomas, Stanley, Rosecrans, Wood and Davis had "highly recommended" Colonel Post, then senior colonel in the Fourth Army Corps. On the back of the letter President Lincoln on December 21 added his recommendation in these words:

Submitted to the Secretary of War. The recommendations are excellent, & it is said that Col. Post was wounded, perhaps mortally at the late battles in front of Nashville. I commend the case to the special attention of the Secretary

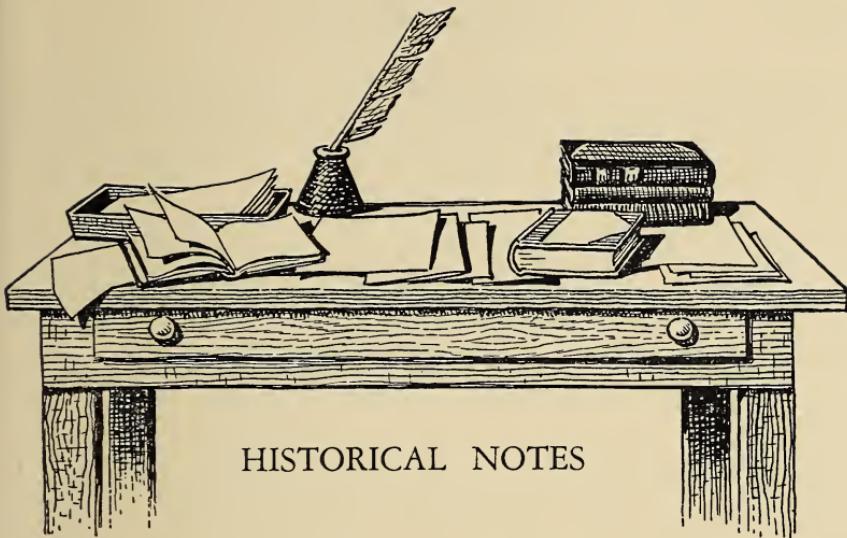
The President's fear that Colonel Post was mortally wounded proved unfounded. He was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers as of December 16, 1864 for gallantry and distinguished service in the battles before Nashville. Post served as consul and then as consul general at Vienna (1866-1879), and as a congressman from 1887 until his death in 1895.

The Monument Association broadside is dated April 25, 1865, ten days after Lincoln's death and ten days before his burial. It announced plans for the funeral and requested gifts for the erection of a monument. In the broadside, Governor Richard J. Oglesby, president of the Association, states that the "Most beautiful grounds, already adorned by nature and embellished by art, near the centre of the city of Springfield, have been selected as his final resting place." A temporary

tomb was being constructed on the grounds now occupied by the Illinois State Capitol, and was to be completed by May 1. But the committee had failed to consult Mrs. Lincoln's wishes, and a telegram from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton announced that it was now the desire of the widow that the remains should be placed in Oak Ridge Cemetery. John T. Stuart, the President's first law partner and chairman of the executive committee of the Association, telegraphed Stanton on April 29 that "the wishes of Mrs. Lincoln shall be complied with." The beautiful monument and grounds in Oak Ridge Cemetery today attest to her wise choice.

The *English Grammar* by Roswell C. Smith (Cincinnati, 1844) has the label of Johnson & Bradford, Springfield, Illinois, booksellers, as well as the signature "Wm. H. Herndon." The title page has the stamp of Alfred Orendorff, Herndon's law partner from 1869 until the latter's retirement in 1877. In contrast to other books from Herndon's personal library now in the Historical Library, the grammar contains no notes or index in his handwriting.

The book from the Lincoln and Herndon law library is Robert Phillimore, *Commentaries upon International Law* (Philadelphia, 1854 and 1855). The *Commentaries* were published in three volumes, the first two of which were bound together. The Historical Library already owned Volume III—a gift of Orendorff some forty years ago—and thus the *Commentaries* are again brought together.



HISTORICAL NOTES

DE SOTO HOUSE: HUNDRED-YEAR-OLD GALENA HOTEL

The story of the first one hundred years of the Hotel DeSoto in Galena makes it unique among the hosteries of the state. Opened for business in April, 1855 as the "largest Hotel in the West," during its career it has remained the largest in Galena. It has had the distinction of entertaining such notables as Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Ulysses S. Grant and a host of others.

Galena's golden decade was 1850 to 1860. It was the lead mining capital of the country and the business capital of the upper Mississippi Valley. It had regular packet service to St. Louis and St. Paul, and steamboat connections with the Ohio, the Missouri and New Orleans. A dozen or more steamers would be tied up at one time loading or unloading at the Galena levee. Fifteen stagecoach lines passed through the town. There were some forty wholesale houses, which in the early 1850's did as much business as those in Chicago. The population of the town had increased from 1,843 in 1840 to 6,004 in 1850, and that of the county from 6,180 to 18,604. With the prospect of a railroad Galena anticipated continued expansion.

This was the setting when a group of businessmen formed the Galena Hotel Company in 1853 for the purpose of building a hostelry worthy of the city's expectations. They chose the best site in town—a one-hundred-foot frontage on Main Street extending 120 feet along Green Street to Commerce. W. B. Willis of Galena drew up the plans and supervised construction. The brick building, to cost \$85,000, was to be five stories on Main Street and the

slope of the hill made possible six stories at the street level on Commerce. Ground was broken on June 27, 1853, and almost every issue of the *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* carried a progress report. On November 8, 1853 it said:

THE NEW HOTEL—The carpenters are at work putting the roof on this building and a few more days will finish the brickwork. It is thought there will be no difficulty in getting the building enclosed previous to winter in which case the interior work can be done by spring. . . .

On March 14, 1854 the *Northwestern Gazette* announced that the new hotel would be named the DeSoto House after Ferdinand DeSoto, discoverer of the Mississippi River.

Although the hotel was not open to receive guests until 1855, the stores on the ground floor were occupied as soon as they were finished, and the dining room was in use by November 8, 1854, when a "Railroad Festival" was held to celebrate completion of the Illinois Central to Galena, affording railroad connections with Chicago and the east coast. The crowd that dined at the DeSoto House was "estimated at from five to eight hundred"¹ and included the mayor of Chicago and twelve aldermen, representatives of the press, and railroad officials. Six hundred to seven hundred people were arriving in town daily by railroad, stage and boat.

The trustees of the hotel leased the property to John C. Parks, "late of the Virginia Hotel, St. Louis," rent-free for two years provided he would furnish it "as such a house should be." That he did this "with a New York elegance"² (at a cost of \$15,000) is shown by the following description in the *Galena Daily Advertiser* of April 9, 1855:

The first story on Main street is divided into three Stores, a Railroad Office and the Main Entrance and Office of the Hotel—off from which is the Wash-Room, Coat Room, Gentlemen's Reading Room and the Dining Hall and Carving Room.

The Dining Hall is one hundred feet long by thirty four wide, and is capable of seating three hundred persons at a time.

We next come to the Ladies' Parlors, on the second floor. These parlors are twenty four by forty feet, divided by sliding doors in the centre, finished in good style, and furnished with velvet carpets, rosewood furniture, four large gilt mirrors, sofas, divans, marble-top tables, satin damask curtains, and one of Munn & Clark's best double round, seven octave, carved rosewood Piano Fortes—forming altogether one of the most beautifully furnished and elegantly arranged public parlors in the State or country.

Adjoining the above, are two private parlors, furnished with tapestry carpets, gilt mirrors, rosewood furniture, &c.

¹ *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* [Galena], Nov. 14, 1854.

² *Galena Daily Advertiser*, July 27, 1855.

Still further on, we come to an elegant suite of rooms, furnished in nearly the same style as the private parlors above mentioned.

We now come back to the end of the building on Green street. Here is a room furnished with carpeting and furniture of a remarkably chaste and pretty style, in which green predominates to such an extent as to give it the title of the "Green Room." Next beyond is the Ladies' Reception Room, fourteen by thirty-four feet; adjoining which is a Room precisely like the one mentioned above, called the "Blue Room," also from the prevailing color of the furniture. Following down on Commerce street are several suit[e]s of Rooms and single Rooms, tastefully decorated,—when you reach the Ladies' Ordinary, which is thirty-four by fifty feet.

The Ladies' Bath Rooms are also on this floor. The Ladies' Entrance to the House is on Green street....

The Third and Fourth Stories are arranged with Parlors and Bed-Rooms attached, and single Rooms, numbering between eighty and ninety in all.

The Fifth Story is divided into small Rooms, well fitted and handsomely furnished.

Leaving the Fifth Story and descending the long flight of stairs, we come next to the Basement.

On Green street is the Saloon, Barber Shop, Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Co's Office, connecting with all parts of the country, and a Store.

On Commerce street is the Kitchen, Ironing Room, Store Rooms, Pastry Room, Wash Room, Drying Room, and Boiler and Engine Room. This latter is supplied with a ten-horse-power Steam Engine, working one of Worthington's Pumps, forcing water to the Tanks in the Third Story for the supply of the Baths, Water-Closets, Wash-Rooms, &c.

The Kitchen we cannot pass by with so slight a mention, as it is from this we expect the most. Here we find one of Peters' & Johnson's Patent Roasters, capable of roasting meat for 500 persons; steam apparatus for cooking vegetables, and a Cook Stove large enough to supply the town.

The Halls, Parlors and Dining Rooms are lighted with Benzole's Gas, manufactured in the House.

In the Office is one of Jackson's Patent Annunciator's, answering to every Room in the House.

The first advertisement announcing the opening of the new hotel was dated April 13, 1855. On May 4 the *Galena Advertiser* carried an "ad" for "Baths, Hot and Cold Water" at the "DeSoto House Shaving and Hair Dressing Saloon."

The biggest event in the early career of the DeSoto House was Abraham Lincoln speaking from its balcony on July 23, 1856 in behalf of presidential candidate John C. Frémont. Lincoln, a candidate for Republican presidential elector, had been in Chicago "to attend a little business in court." He was met at the Galena station by a torchlight procession which escorted him to the DeSoto House amid the shouting and cheering of the crowd accompanied by the booming of steamboat whistles at the levee. After climbing the spiral



GALENA'S BIGGEST CELEBRATION

Here is the Grand Triumphal Arch which the citizens of Galena erected across Main Street for the celebration of August 18, 1865 when they welcomed General Grant home from the Civil War. On the right is the five-story DeSoto House, then at the peak of its career.

stairway in the lobby Lincoln stepped out on the iron-grilled balcony overlooking Main Street, where "in a clear, connected and masterly manner he traced the history of slavery aggression from the commencement to the present time, and pointed out, like a true statesman, the consequences of permitting the curse to spread itself over our immense territories."³ His closing sentence was later to become a Civil War slogan: "All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug—nothing but folly. *We WON'T* dissolve the Union, and *you SHAN'T*."⁴

Two years later, on August 25, 1858, Lincoln's arch rival, Stephen A. Douglas, visited the DeSoto House and spoke from the same balcony. This was the only speech either senatorial candidate made in northwestern Illinois except at the joint debate at Freeport two days later. The *Galena Courier* poked fun at the Little Giant's followers by saying that a boatload of "Hibernians from Dubuque . . . marched up and deployed in front of the DeSoto House before Dooglas the great Dred Scottite would show himself."

Galena's "Great Day," its biggest celebration, came on August 18, 1865, when it welcomed home from the Civil War its most illustrious son, Ulysses S. Grant. The DeSoto House was the center of the day's activities. Representatives of twenty surrounding towns met at the hotel and planned the event. A Triumphal Arch, big enough to be used as a reviewing stand holding a hundred or more people, was erected across Main Street at Green—the DeSoto corner. The wording at the sides proclaimed the General's military victories, and lettering nearly three feet high across the top read "Hail to the Chief Who in Triumph Advances."

Galena had 25,000 visitors that day and the DeSoto entertained 2,000 of them. The Grand Reception Ball that night, at \$3.00 per couple, was held at the DeSoto with "Major Gen. John A. Logan's Band" supplying the music. The overflow crowd was accommodated by the boys of the Twelfth and Forty-fifth Regiments with a cotillion party at Burton's Hall where tickets were \$1.00 each and the music was by the Galena String Band.

General Grant's personal headquarters during his successful presidential campaigns of 1868 and 1872 were at the DeSoto. When he returned from his world tour in 1879

. . . the General held a reception at the DeSoto House, which was attended by great throngs of people. In the evening the town presented a brilliant spectacle. The main streets and buildings were brightly illuminated, while the light streamed from the windows of the houses on the surrounding hills. Highly colored rockets and Roman candles were continually set off in all directions, adding greatly to the brilliancy of the scene.

³ *Weekly Northwestern Gazette*, July 25, 1856.

⁴ *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. edition, New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), II: 355.

The church and fire bells were rung, and the streets were crowded with people eagerly discussing the General's return and reception, the like of which Galena will scarcely see again.⁵

This latter prediction may have been correct, but the DeSoto House and Galena have had more than their share of notable visitors, including such personages as Mark Twain, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Susan B. Anthony, Chauncey M. Depew, Horace Greeley, James Russell Lowell and Lorado Taft. Opera singer Mlle. Theresa Parodi was serenaded by Schreiner's twelve-piece band, playing the "DeSoto Polka," composed by Professor Christoph Schreiner, the leader.

Among other entertainers to visit the DeSoto House were General and Mrs. Tom Thumb, Commodore Nutt and Minnie Warren, who were well received when they stopped on March 1, 1869 for matinee and evening performances at Davis Hall. The *Advertiser* noted that the Lilliputians "were out this morning in their gay little coach, and were followed about town by a swarm of boys."⁶ Then there were Duprez and Green's Minstrels, "The Campbells Are Coming" troupe, the Peak Family bell ringers, Budwarth's Minstrels, Professor S. M. Brooks "the Celebrated American Aeronaut," and the Barnard and Lamont Opera Troupe. The hotel was host also to numerous masquerades and dances given by the volunteer fire companies for which Galena is famous, Civil War veterans' organizations, and other social groups.

The Illinois Central extended its line to Dunleith (now East Dubuque) on the Mississippi in 1855. Instead of becoming a railway center Galena became a way station and much of its business went to Dubuque, Iowa, across the Mississippi—emigrants to northwestern Wisconsin, northern Iowa, and Minnesota could save several days by outfitting themselves west of the river.⁷ As a direct result of this the heyday of the DeSoto came early and its decline was swift. On November 6, 1875 the *Daily Gazette* reported, "The upper two stories of the hotel have been closed up, and a mammoth drum has been placed in the first hall, which warms every room in that portion of the house."

Less than five years later the *Gazette* stated, "The contract for tearing down and removing the two upper stories of the DeSoto House, has been let to Capt. Haile, who commenced operations this afternoon, and is to complete the work as soon as possible."⁸ The "operation" was quite an engineering feat, since it involved raising the old roof on screw jacks and then lowering it gradually as the two stories were removed. The *Gazette* noted on May 8, 1880 that "The last section of the DeSoto House [roof]

⁵ *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 29, 1879.

⁶ *Galena Daily Advertiser*, March 1, 1869.

⁷ Carlton J. Corliss, *Main Line of Mid-America* (New York, 1950), 144.

⁸ *Galena Daily Gazette*, March 15, 1880.

was lowered this afternoon." Cutting off the two top floors reduced the number of hotel rooms by approximately one-half—to the present-day seventy.

In its lifetime the Hotel DeSoto, as it is now known, has had only seven owners, but there have been innumerable lessees and managers. Unlike most of their predecessors, the current proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Oppido, are also the operators. After a century few of the original furnishings remain. There are three rooms furnished with oldtime high dressers, marble-topped tables and beds with nine-foot, intricately carved headboards. Guests today may climb the spiral stairway and walk down the wide, high-ceilinged halls used by Lincoln and Douglas—but the balcony from which they spoke has been removed. The history-minded proprietors maintain a Historical Exhibit Room off the lobby where material pertaining to Galena and Jo Daviess County is displayed.

Although the old registers and other papers of the Hotel DeSoto have been destroyed, the present account of its history was made possible by the research of Virginia R. Carroll into Galena newspaper files. Miss Carroll is the daughter of Mrs. Oppido.

PRINTER'S ERROR IN CALL FOR ANTISLAVERY CONVENTION

The earliest comprehensive list of abolitionists in Illinois is the record of those who signed the call for a convention at Upper Alton on October 26, 1837. The call, dated Alton, September 27, 1837, was signed by Elijah P. Lovejoy and "undersigned" by 245 persons from seventeen communities in ten counties of the state. It was printed with the *Proceedings of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Convention Held at Upper Alton on the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, and Twenty-eighth October* as an "Extra" of the *Alton Observer*, dated on the title page "Alton, 1838."

A study of the names in this list reveals certain discrepancies in the home towns of the signers. The simplest explanation is that the printer in making up the columns of names placed the columns in the wrong order. In the printed *Proceedings* the names are found in six columns, three on page four and three on page five. By placing the columns from page five immediately beneath those on page four, making three long columns instead of six, the discrepancies are eliminated. The manuscript "Minutes of the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society," now in the Chicago Historical Society, lists the names of the signers in the same order and with the same designations of localities as the printed *Proceedings*. The manuscript "Minutes" must have been copied from the *Proceedings*, and is not the "original" source.

In the list below, the names are presented with the proper geographical

location of the signers and are arranged alphabetically. Some evident misspellings have been corrected and first names substituted for initials where this could be done with certainty:

ADAMS COUNTY	Pearson, Francis	Smith, Miles
<i>Fairfield</i>	Pitkin, Henry C.	Swift, Erastus
Baldwin, Benjamin	Platt, Edward	Tompkins, Samuel
Bartholomew, D.	Platt, Jerry	Tyler, Abraham
Chittenden, John B.	Root, A. C.	Waters, James
Cook, J. W.	Segur, Andrew	Waters, John
Hubbard, Anson M.	Smith, Alvin T.	West, John G.
Hubbard, Rufus	Smith, Porter	West, Nehemiah
Hubbard, W. H.	Snow, Henry H.	Wilcox, Henry
Kirby, William	Stillman, Levi	
Smith, Caleb	Stobie, James	MACOUPIN COUNTY
Talcott, C.	Thompson, Henry	<i>Carlinville</i>
<i>Quincy</i>	Turner, Edward	Buchanan, J. M.
Allen, Levi	Turner, Edward L.	
Bancroft, Amos	Vance, Robert	MADISON COUNTY
Barrett, Henry	Ward, Artemus	<i>Alton</i>
Benson, John	Westgate, George	Bates, J.
Benton, Erastus	White, Ebenezer	Beall, Edmond
Beston, J. R.	Williams, Evan	Carpenter, James
Bolland, Charles	Winter, Samuel	Chappell, W. L.
Borein, Peter		Clark, John S.
Bran, Benjamin		Denison, E.
Brown, Charles		Forbes, Moses
Brown, J. B.		Graves, Franklin W.
Brown, Julius		Holton, George
Brown, Rufus		Hurlbut, Thaddeus B.
Burnell, Strong		Hunter, Charles W.
Burnham, Charles		Kimball, George
Burns, John		Lippincott, Thomas
Carrott, Frederick		Loomis, Hubbell
Craig, Joseph		Lovejoy, Elijah P.
Eells, Richard		Lovejoy, Owen
Faxon, Lewis		Mansfield, James
Felt, Peter		Moore, S. E.
Fisher, Ezra		Stearns, H.
Flack, James M.		Thompson, J.
Gaylord, Myron		Upham, W.
George, John R.		Weller, Royal
Harkness, Loren		Whipple, Perley B.
Hoffman, Henry B.		
Holmes, Joseph T.		MORGAN COUNTY
Hood, Ross		<i>Jacksonville</i>
Horhman, Charles		Barton, Charles B.
Howland, Charles		Beecher, Edward
Keyes, Willard		Blood, C. B.
Kimball, Edward B.		Burnett, William S.
Kingman, Lucius		Carter, Ebenezer
McKenzie, Bernard		Carter, William
McWorthy, Peter		Chamberlain, Timothy
Maire, Henry		Chandler, S.
Montandon, H. L.		Dunham, L.
Morey, John E.		Edwards, James G.
Nelson, David		Estabrook, Abel W.
Ogden, George		

Graves, J. S.
 Graves, Jeremiah
 Harkness, Lyman
 Hart, Martin
 Hicks, M.
 Hitchcock, A. B.
 Jones, W.
 Kendall, R. S.
 Kenworthy, Thomas
 Lawrie, Thomas
 Melendy, Thomas W.
 Mills, William T.
 Nelson, David D., Jr.
 Patterson, Robert W.
 Pearson, R. M.
 Perry, Ralph
 Pyle, George
 Reed, Maro M. L.
 Scofield, Edward
 Wells, S.
 Wolcott, Elihu
 Waverly
 Brown, Isaac H.

PEORIA COUNTY
 Peoria

Castler, A. S.
 Castler, Alfred
 Castler, Samuel
 Castler, W. E.
 Clark, James
 Guilford, William E., Jr.
 Gumbell, Joseph
 Little, Henry
 Pettingill, Moses
 Porter, Jeremiah
 Reynolds, H. W.
 Reynolds, John
 Russell, Aaron
 Smith, John W.
 Stanton, J. R.

Knox College

Thompson, Joseph
 Van Eps, Abraham
 Warden, Nathaniel
 Winslow, Calvin

PUTNAM COUNTY
 Hennepin

Dunlavy, James D.
 Laughlin, J. N.
 Laughlin, Samuel D.
 Stewart, William
 Willis, Stephen D.

SANGAMON COUNTY
 Chatham

Lyman, Cornelius
 Porter, Josiah
 Ransom, Luther N.
 Stockwell, Alanson
 White, H. T.
 Farmington

Bates, Oliver
 Bates, Peter
 Child, Stephen
 Estabrook, Haroldus
 Galt, Thomas
 Lyman, A. S.
 Lyman, Alvan
 Lyman, Azel
 Lyman, Ezra C.
 Lyman, Henry P.
 More, B. B.
 Seely, Bishop
 Slater, John
 Stone, Asahel
 Stone, Ossian L.
 Springfield

Abel, Roswell P.
 Bancroft, Isaac, Jr.
 Bancroft, Jonathan C.

Conant, Sullivan
 Cowgill, William M.
 Culver, Oliver
 Francis, Charles B.
 Francis, Josiah
 Hallock, Z.
 Hawley, Eliphalet B.
 Kendall, George N.
 Pratt, James
 Rawson, J. G.
 Stephenson, James
 Taber, Elisha
 Taney, Joseph
 Thayer, Erastus W.
 Watson, John B.
 Wiley, Edmund B.
 Wright, Erastus

TAZEWELL COUNTY
 Pekin

Bailey, David
 Bailey, Nathaniel
 Booden, Joseph
 Pleasant Grove

Bascom, Julius
 Sand Prairie

Chapman, H. D.
 Grosvenor, Roswell
 Holton, Lemuel
 Woodrow, Samuel
 Woodrow, William
 Washington

Barnes, Romulus
 Scott, James P.
 Whipple, F. R.

WARREN COUNTY
 Monmouth

Wright, George H.

HERMANN R. MUELDER

JOHN McCAWLEY, CLAY COUNTY'S FIRST SETTLER

The first white man to live in most Illinois counties was a hunter-trapper who moved on when the country around him became "crowded" and wild game scarce. He was a pioneer, not a settler, and never became a leader in the community. John McCawley, of Clay County, was an exception to this rule. Here is a brief account of his career compiled by Henry L. Payne of Noble, Illinois, only a few miles from where McCawley settled:

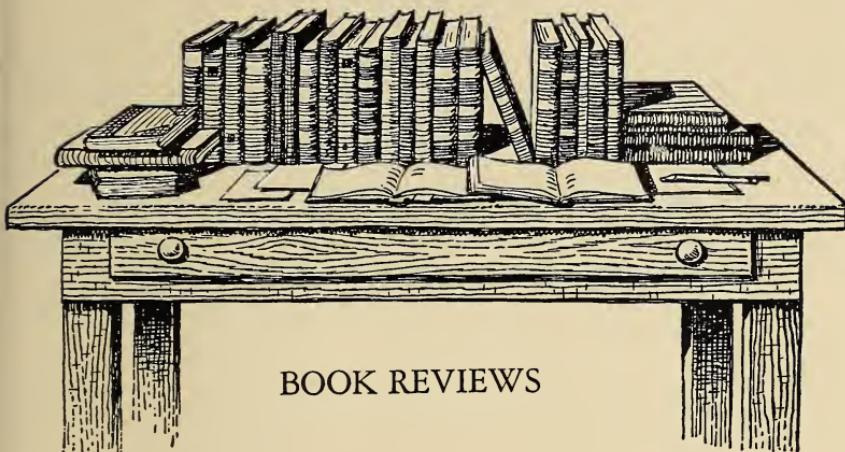
John McCawley, the first settler in Clay County, was born on December 24, 1782, in Jefferson County, Kentucky. He settled in the county in 1810

when one of his horses died while he was traveling the old St. Louis-Vincennes trace on his way to St. Louis. He lost this horse in the Little Wabash River bottoms east of the present site of Clay City. One of his companions was sent back for another horse, and meanwhile McCawley "fell in love" with the country and decided to locate here.

He built a cabin and spent the better part of a year hunting and trapping. Then he returned to Kentucky and married Martha Lacy whom he immediately brought to his frontier home on the Little Wabash. One day early in 1812—after the beginning of the war with England—some friendly Indians came to his door and warned him that his life was in danger. The next day the young couple left their home to go to the fort at Vincennes. They neither saw nor heard either friend or foe throughout the entire uneventful trip. As they neared the fort they heard a whoop behind them and turning around saw their Indian friends waving goodbye. They had been secretly escorted all the way.

Following a sojourn of several years in Kentucky the McCawleys returned to their Clay County cabin in 1816. Their first child, Mary Ann, was born on September 5, 1813 when her parents were residing in Kentucky. Her younger brother Daniel died in 1820, the first white person to die in the county.

About 1827 John McCawley received a license to build and operate toll bridges across the Little Wabash River and Big Muddy Creek east of Clay City. He operated these bridges until 1842, at times receiving up to \$20 per day in tolls. He was the leader of one of the factions in the early "hog wars" over the swine that ranged the woods of the county—the clans would engage in fist fights and brawls, with pork and glory as the prizes. The first schoolhouse in the county was built by McCawley in 1835, and the first religious service was held in his home. He was nearly blind for the last twenty years of his life, but during this time he served as county judge for one term. He died in 1854.



BOOK REVIEWS

Pardon and Amnesty Under Lincoln and Johnson. By Jonathan Truman Dorris. (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1953. Pp. xxi, 459. \$7.50.)

Dr. Dorris' book is subtitled "The Restoration of the Confederates to Their Rights and Privileges, 1861-1898," indicating that many amnesty problems went beyond President Andrew Johnson's last day in office. The author has lived with the subject for a generation, submitting it as his doctoral dissertation in the mid-twenties and later publishing a half-dozen articles. He was the first Ph. D. candidate of the late Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois who was a specialist on the Civil War and the legal constitutional problems arising from it. One of Dr. Randall's last writings was the nine-page introduction to this volume.

This is a book primarily for the specialist, and the author's style does not make the maze of necessary detail easy reading. In no way does the difference between Lincoln's and Johnson's handling of men and issues appear so vividly as on the amnesty problem. The aftermath of the Civil War would have been much improved under Lincoln.

Professor Dorris devotes chapters to the pardons for Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. As Dr. Randall points out, President Johnson's general program followed "a fairly lenient course," and his vengefulness toward Jefferson Davis was an exception.

This is the best study of the subject in print, but other scholars will try their hands now that the amnesty records have been opened by the National Archives.

H. E. P.

Lincoln's Imagery: A Study in Word Power. By Theodore C. Blegen. (Sumac Press: La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1954. Pp. 32. \$2.00.)

Touched and impressed by Abraham Lincoln's power and facility with words and phrases, Dean Blegen of the University of Minnesota has assembled hundreds of examples of his proficiency. Lincoln's letters, speeches and conversation swarm with quaint and homely figures of speech—he had the knack of clarification by a vivid metaphor or simile.

Lincoln's political debates with Douglas abound in many of his sharpest gibes. "I might as well preach Christianity to a grizzly bear as to preach Jefferson and Jackson to him." The platform of the Free Soilers reminded Lincoln of "the pair of pantaloons the Yankee pedler offered for sale, 'large enough for any man, small enough for any boy.'" To Governor Yates of Illinois the President tartly replied that "Major Generalships in the Regular Army, are not as plenty as blackberries." Figures of speech came readily to his tongue and pen, and knowledge of how to apply them perhaps from long observation of his hearers' reactions around the courthouse stoves.

Author Blegen pays deserved tribute to a President able and willing to write his own speeches. There is eloquence and prophecy in Lincoln's Message to Congress, December 1, 1862: "Fellow-citizens, *we* cannot escape history....The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation....In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth."

H. E. P.

Marked Corners. By Francesca Falk Miller. (Americana House: Chicago, 1954. Pp. 148. \$3.00.)

"Marked corners is a mighty nice way of sayin' y' own some land. 'Spose our lives are claimed like that, too?" Tom Lincoln's claim in Indiana had its corners marked with little heaps of stone. These give the title to Mrs. Miller's three-act play of young Abraham Lincoln's Indiana years, 1816-1830.

It is good reading, has the flavor of the frontier, and interesting people gossiping of food, clothing, babies, quilting, corn shucking and fights. Nancy Hanks Lincoln's strong impress on young Abe—and her death—are effectively portrayed, as is the arrival of the new stepmother and her skillful handling of an awkward moment. Women and girls play a more prominent role in the scenes than is generally attributed to them in the early part of the last century.

This play received the \$1,000 award of the Southwestern Indiana Civic Association in 1940 for the best play about the boyhood and youth of Abra-

ham Lincoln in Indiana. There is a brief, appropriate introduction by Ralph G. Newman of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop in Chicago and New Salem State Park. Format, cover, book jacket and topography are excellent. Readers will want to see the play staged.

Francesca Falk Miller (Mrs. A. E. Nielsen) has published two volumes of fiction, six books of poetry and a biography of her father, Dr. Louis Falk. She is the founder and past president of the National Society of Arts and Letters and is currently president of the Friends of the Chicago Public Library.

H. E. P.

The Bollinger Lincoln Lectures. Edited by Clyde C. Walton, Jr. (The State University of Iowa Libraries, The Bollinger Lincoln Foundation: Iowa City, 1953. Pp. 80. \$5.00.)

On November 19, 1951 the State University of Iowa Library dedicated the Lincoln Library collected by one of its alumni, the Honorable Judge James W. Bollinger. Born in Geneseo, Illinois, he died in his eighty-fourth year at his home in Davenport, Iowa, on January 30, 1951.

The addresses given at the dedication have been handsomely printed in an edition of 350 copies, with a preface by President Virgil Hancher and edited by the Curator of Rare Books. The speakers presented intimate, informal glimpses of their greatly beloved friend: "My Friend, James W. Bollinger" by Paul M. Angle; "Recollections of Judge Bollinger" by Benjamin P. Thomas; "Judge Bollinger's Favorite Books" by Harry E. Pratt; "Lincoln and the Effie Afton Bridge Case" by Charles J. Lynch, Jr.; and "Tomorrow's Lincoln Authors" by Louis A. Warren.

Petersburg

FERN NANCE POND

The Civil War. By James Street. (Dial Press: New York, 1953. Pp. 144. \$3.00.)

This book should provide many chuckles for one who wishes to spend a pleasant evening reading a short history of the Civil War. It contains no new theories, but is delightfully humorous. Mr. Street agrees with the thesis of the late Professor J. G. Randall that secession was "an incredible blunder." However, little of the patient research of the Lincoln and Civil War scholars is used. The old myths are there—for example, Lincoln's father was a shiftless ne'er-do-well, and Herndon's story of Lincoln's failure to appear for his wedding on January 1, 1841. Street believes Sherman to have been the best of the Union generals, an assertion that is debatable as are other of his generalizations.

University of Illinois

WAYNE TEMPLE

Messages and Papers Relating to the Administration of James Brown Ray, Governor of Indiana, 1825-1831. Edited by Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough. (Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1954. Pp. 726. \$7.50.)

This is the fourth volume of messages and papers of Indiana governors. The first three cover the territorial and statehood period from 1800 to 1825. (Indiana was admitted to statehood in 1816.)

The introduction by Gayle Thornbrough deals briefly with Governor Ray's turbulent two terms. Some 670 pages are devoted to the messages and papers. A sufficient selection has been included to show the different types of problems with which the Governor was faced and the decisions he made. Indian treaties and internal improvements were especially important problems in Ray's administration. The book is sturdily bound and has an adequate index.

S. A. W.

Alexandra Gripenberg's A Half Year in the New World. Translated and edited by Ernest J. Moyne. (University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1954. Pp. 225.)

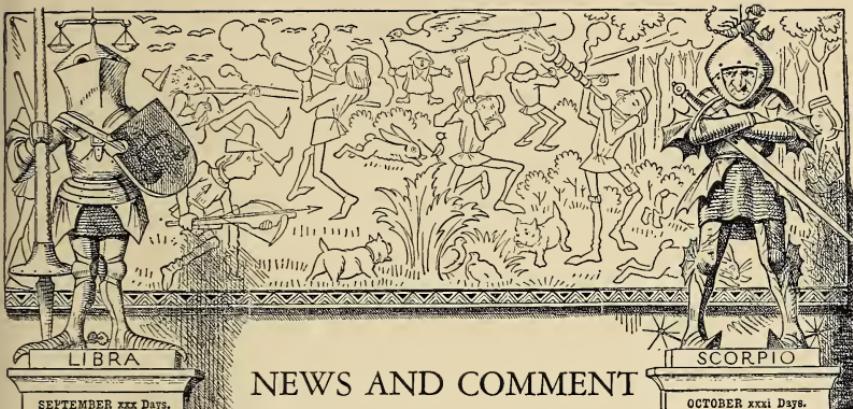
Baroness Gripenberg, author and leader in Finland's woman suffrage and temperance movements, came to the United States as a delegate to the first International Congress of Women in Washington, D. C. in 1888. She traveled extensively and attended the National Education Association Convention in San Francisco. The random reminiscences of her six-months visit, published in Helsinki in 1889, have now been translated into English.

The author met several famous Americans and gives interesting accounts of them. Her descriptions of American customs and the homes in which she was entertained were read with interest by her Northern European audience. Her over-all impression of the country was favorable, though in some respects slightly biased by a feminist point of view.

The Baroness' account of her visit to Illinois is limited to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. Through the intercession of Robert G. Ingersoll she attended with Susan B. Anthony. She describes Ingersoll as a "stout, light-complexioned gentleman with a white vest of enormous dimensions." In telling of the convention she mentions "Abraham Lincoln, Junior [Robert Todd Lincoln], the son of the President" who repeatedly declined to run for public office. Although she visited the widow and daughters of Elijah Lovejoy in Illinois, her version of his death is quoted from a conversation in Philadelphia with the former abolitionist Robert Purvis.

The text is not arranged as a chronological travelogue. The translation preserves a lightness of style which readers will enjoy.

H. F. R.



NEWS AND COMMENT

ANNUAL MEETING AT VANDALIA, OCTOBER 8-9

The old Vandalia Statehouse pictured on the front cover of this *Journal*, Illinois' capitol building 1836-1839, will be the center of interest of the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on Friday and Saturday, October 8 and 9. Headquarters for the two-day session will be the Evans Hotel—the five-story building at the lower left-hand corner of the picture. This structure is on the site of Charters Tavern, one of the inns where Abraham Lincoln probably lived when he was attending sessions as a member of the House of Representatives.

Joseph C. Burtschi, president of the Vandalia Historical Society and chairman of local arrangements, has prepared a full program to take advantage of Vandalia's many opportunities for a first-hand study of history. He has written a history of the city while it was the state capital for distribution to those attending the meeting and has secured the co-operation of local and state officials and the Chamber of Commerce in extending hospitality to the group. Fifteen historical sites in the city have been marked with bronze plaques by the State Society and the state Division of Parks and Memorials. Name plates, bearing biographical sketches of those who died while serving the state during the years when Vandalia was the capital, have been placed over their graves in the cemetery.

Dr. John T. Flanagan, professor of English at the University of Illinois (see page 264), will address the annual dinner meeting Friday evening in the Vandalia Community High School. His subject will be "James Hall, Pioneer Editor and Publicist."

Registration will begin at the Evans Hotel at 9 A.M. Friday, followed by a workshop session on "Programs of Local Historical Societies." Presiding

at this initial meeting will be Miss Alenia McCord of Vandalia. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer of Alton (Alton Area Historical Society) and Wasson W. Lawrence of Fairfield (Wayne County Historical Society) will tell of the activities of their groups. They will be followed by Elwin W. Sigmund, director of the Illinois Junior Historian program now beginning its eighth year.

At 11 A.M. the 528th Air Force Band from Scott Air Force Base will give a concert on the lawn of the Old Statehouse under the direction of Chief Warrant Officer Frank Weirauch. Fay R. Murdock, assistant director of the Illinois Department of Public Safety, will speak at the Friday luncheon which will be served at the Illinois State Farm. J. Ward Barnes, president of the State Society, will preside. After a tour of the Farm the group will return to the Old Statehouse where the afternoon session will be held in the Hall of Representatives, with Chairman Burtschi presiding. This meeting will be a "Symposium on the History of Vandalia" presented by members of the Vandalia Historical Society. The speakers and their subjects will be: Ira D. Lakin, "Ferdinand Ernst Colony"; Rev. William Henderson, "Vandalia's Role as Capital, 1820-1839"; Louis McLaughlin, "Vandalia, Western Terminus of the Cumberland, or National Road"; Mary Burtschi, "Literary Activity During Capital Days"; and Judge Joseph Dees, "Important Legislation in Early Illinois." The annual business meeting, with the election of directors and the report of Secretary-Treasurer Harry E. Pratt, will conclude this session.

State Representative Will P. Welker of Vandalia will preside at the annual dinner Friday evening. Preceding Dr. Flanagan's address there will be a musical program by the Vandalia High School Choral Club under the direction of Mrs. Anna Ruth Kains.

A bus tour of the historical sites of Vandalia and vicinity will occupy Saturday morning. Members of the Vandalia Historical Society will act as narrators and complimentary bus service will be provided by the Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian and former executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, will address the Saturday luncheon in the High School on "A. Lincoln of Sangamon: Lawmaker in Vandalia." Presiding at this closing session will be the 1954-1955 president of the State Society. Music will be by a quartet composed of Charles Nutter, Elmer Hatchet, Eugene Whitler and Dorsey Gibbons, with Mrs. Nutter as pianist.

GENERAL JOHN CHARLES BLACK'S PAPERS

The papers of General John Charles Black (1839-1915), Civil War soldier, orator, lawyer, commissioner of pensions during President Cleveland's

first term, and president of the Civil Service Commission under Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, have been deposited in the Illinois State Historical Library.

General Black enlisted from Wabash College (Crawfordsville, Indiana) in April, 1861, and served four months in Virginia under Lew Wallace. He then returned to his home in Danville and organized what became Company K of the 37th Illinois. When Black was elected major his brother William became captain of the company. John Charles became a colonel at the age of twenty-four and served four years and a day in the Civil War, and was twice severely wounded. He was brevetted brigadier general, March 13, 1865.

Admitted to the bar in 1867 he practiced law in Danville, was thrice a candidate for Congress, being elected congressman-at-large (Democrat) in 1892 by the largest vote received by any candidate in Illinois up to that time. He resigned on January 12, 1895 to become United States Attorney for Northern Illinois, holding this position for four years.

He was active in the Grand Army of the Republic from 1866 until his death, serving as commander of the Illinois department in 1898, and as national commander-in-chief (1903-1904). He was also department commander of the Loyal Legion of Illinois (1895-1897). General Black was president of the United States Civil Service Commission from 1904 until he resigned in 1913. He died in Chicago on August 17, 1915, and is buried in Spring Hill Cemetery in Danville.

The papers of General Black consist of some 6,000 letters, numerous manuscript addresses, 2,300 pages of his letter copybooks (indexed), and more than two dozen scrapbooks. Among the letters are fifty written by the Rev. John Black, his father, ten of which are from college at Hanover, Indiana in the 1830's. There are eighty-seven letters of Black to his parents during the Civil War, and 125 which he received from his mother, ten from his sister Mary, and four from his sister La Rose. There are also 128 Civil War letters of his younger brother Captain William P. Black, and fifty letters of Dr. William Fithian, stepfather of the Black children. Twenty-six of these letters are from army hospitals where Fithian was attending his wounded sons.

The Black papers are rich in G. A. R. correspondence. There are twelve letters of President Theodore Roosevelt, three of President Taft, one of Grover Cleveland and from one to a dozen letters of Mrs. John A. Logan, Joseph G. Cannon, Champ Clark, John H. Finley, W. D. Hoard, Governor Frank O. Lowden, Vice-president Adlai E. Stevenson and Generals Grenville M. Dodge, O. O. Howard, and Horatio C. King. There are letters concerning a pardon for General Robert E. Lee and another group relating to Black's address at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial at Hodgenville, Kentucky, November 9, 1911. Fourteen letters (1904-1908) from A. C. Griggs in Panama, relate

to the work of the Isthmian Canal Commission. The 2,300 indexed pages of letter-book copies cover General Black's correspondence from April 2 to August 31, 1887 and July 8, 1904 to June 11, 1913.

In the large group of pictures are many carte-de-visite photos of Civil War officers, especially of the 37th Illinois Regiment. The portfolio, or leather-covered writing case, of La Rose Black has been kept as it was found at her death on October 6, 1863. There are letters from her schoolmates at Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Illinois, and at the Normal Academy of Music at Geneseo, New York. The writing case also contains sealing wax, an 1858 penny used as a seal, a silver combination pen and pencil, an exquisite ivory-handled letter opener and an assortment of patriotic colored envelopes and stationery in use during the Civil War. Along with these materials are several books on the Civil War and a fine collection of the publications of the G. A. R. and the Loyal Legion.

The papers, books and pictures are a splendid addition to the Library and have come from General Black's daughter and son-in-law, Captain and Mrs. Stephen Abbot, Randlett, Utah, and his son, John D. Black of Chicago.

BOOK FROM THE REV. DRESSER'S LIBRARY

The Historical Library has recently received a book used in the Lincoln Home while the Rev. Charles Dresser lived there (1839-1844). It is the first of the two volumes of S. T. Bloomfield, *The Greek Testament* (Boston, 1837), and is autographed "Charles Dresser 1838."

Dr. Dresser (1800-1865) came with his wife and sons David W. and Thomas W. to Springfield in April, 1838, where he became rector of the Episcopal Church. Of their eight children born in Springfield only Edmund was born in the Lincoln Home. Dr. Dresser was rector from 1838 to 1855 when he was elected to a professorship of Divinity and Belles Lettres at Jubilee College.

Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd were married by the Rev. Dresser on November 4, 1842. On May 3, 1844 the Lincolns obtained title to the one and one-half story house which Dresser had erected in 1839 at Eighth and Jackson streets.

The Greek Testament is a gift to the Historical Library by the Rt. Rev. John Chanler White, D. D., Episcopal bishop of the Springfield diocese for twenty-seven years. In 1891 he married Katherine Dresser, granddaughter of the Rev. Charles Dresser, and daughter of Dr. Thomas W. Dresser who was Mrs. Lincoln's physician in her last illness in 1882.

MORE 1954 CENTENNIALS

Since publication of the Summer issue of this *Journal* the number of Illinois communities holding centennial celebrations this year has risen to well above thirty. Celebrants not listed in the Summer issue (asterisked) and those which were listed without dates are the following:

- *Amboy, August 7-9
- *Bethalto, September 3-6
- Bushnell, August 26-29
- *Chenoa, August 1-8
- *El Paso, August 22-28
- Elwood, August 19-22
- *Gardner, July 11-18
- Hamilton, August 13-15
- LaGrange, September 4-5
- *O'Fallon, August 25-29
- Plano, June 27
- *Rantoul, August 1-7
- Wapella, August 27-29
- *Woodstock, August 5-8

BENJAMIN LUNDY MARKER UNVEILED

Benjamin Lundy, abolitionist editor of the 1820's and 1830's, was honored on Sunday, July 11 with the unveiling of a historical marker by members of the La Salle County Historical Society. The inscription on the marker located to the east of the entrance to Starved Rock State Park on Highway 71 reads:

Benjamin Lundy 1798-1839 Quaker newspaper editor of the abolitionist "Genius of Universal Emancipation" printed at Hennepin, then at Lowell, four miles south, November 8, 1838 to August 22, 1839. He had published it since 1821 in Ohio, Tennessee, Baltimore, Washington, D. C. and Philadelphia. Lundy is buried in Friends Cemetery, near McNabb.

Preceding the ceremony a dinner was served at the Lowell Methodist Church, and Ray Richardson, editor of the *Tonica News*, spoke on the history of Lowell at the time Lundy lived there. He was introduced by Mrs. Edward Carus of Peru, president of the La Salle County Historical Society. At the unveiling C. C. Tisler of Ottawa, a former vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, talked on the abolition movement in Illinois. The marker was unveiled by Steven Parrett, great-great-grandson of Lundy.

KNOXVILLE COURTHOUSE RESTORATION

Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., a local historical group formed last winter, has signed a contract with the city of Knoxville to take over the restoration and maintenance of the old Knoxville courthouse. This two-story Greek Revival building, constructed in 1840, was used as a courthouse until 1873 when the county seat was moved to Galesburg—after a long and bitter contest. Since then it has been the Knoxville city hall. The agreement provides that the historical group shall have control of the building, allowing the city to use first floor rooms for council meetings, mayor's office and polling place.

CHATSWORTH WRECK MARKER

The site of the tragic Chatsworth train wreck of 1887 was commemorated with the unveiling of a marker on September 11. C. C. Burford of Urbana, chairman of the program committee, delivered the principal address and Mrs. Lillian Smith of Terre Haute, Indiana, a survivor of the wreck, unveiled the plaque. W. A. Kibler, Chatsworth school superintendent, presided at the meeting and brief remarks were made by J. Ward Barnes, of Eldorado, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, Scerial Thompson of Harrisburg, chairman of the Society's marker committee, and State Historian Harry E. Pratt. Two songs, "The Bridge Was Burned at Chatsworth" and "America the Beautiful" were sung by the Chatsworth High School chorus, under direction of Max Ferrari. At the conclusion of the ceremony taps were sounded by Mitchell Ritchey of Paris, bugler at Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul. The wording on the marker, which is on Highway 24 about two and one-half miles east of Chatsworth, reads:

The Chatsworth Wreck Midnight, August 10, 1887 One half mile north on the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad occurred one of the worst wrecks in American rail history. An excursion train—two engines and approximately twenty wooden coaches—from Peoria to Niagara Falls, struck a burning culvert. Of the 500 passengers about 85 perished and scores were injured. Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society, 1954.

The Stephen A. Douglas monument in Chicago, which contains his tomb, is to be restored by the state Division of Parks and Memorials. The monument, the work of Leonard Volk, Chicago sculptor, stands in a small park on Thirty-fifth Street just east of Cottage Grove Avenue. Within recent years it has fallen into disrepair.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Edwards County Historical Society's annual educational tour was held on June 17. The group toured the Ozarks and Shawnee National Forest in southern Illinois. A picnic lunch was held at Pounds Hollow Lake. Historic as well as scenic spots were visited.

A memorial service for Mrs. William H. Morgan, who died suddenly on May 5, was held at the regular meeting of the Edwardsville Historical Society on May 24. Mrs. Louise Ahrens, vice-president, presided.

Following the service the group visited Lusk Cemetery to inspect the memorial boulder dedicated by the Society on May 30, 1951. Mrs. Morgan was committee chairman for securing and placing it in the old cemetery where early pioneers of the area are buried.

Officers of the Elmhurst Historical Commission include: Donald M. Carlson, president; Joe Pollack, vice-president; Mrs. E. H. Drogmueller, secretary; and Munson Emery, treasurer. The Commission is gathering material for its historical museum rooms on the third floor of the municipal building.

The Logan County Historical Society has received an original photograph of Abraham Lincoln from Mrs. Fred Maurer of Lincoln. It has been placed in the Postville Courthouse Museum. The photograph was owned by James Primm, grandfather of Mrs. Maurer.

Officers of the Maywood Historical Society are: W. L. Castleman, president; Edward P. Benjamin, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Eda K. Westcott, historical facts chairman. The Society was organized in 1939 and meets once or twice annually.

The Nauvoo Historical Society held an election of officers on July 2. Chosen for the coming year were: Mrs. C. H. Brant, president; Wayne Earls, first vice-president; Mrs. Walter Griffith, second vice-president; Mrs. William J. Ortman, recording secretary; Sister Mary Gregory, corresponding secretary; K. J. Reinhart, treasurer; Mrs. Carl J. Blum, librarian; Sister Mary Innocents, historiographer; Mrs. Sophia Harsch and Michael Baumert, associate advisors; and Ambrose T. Hogan, auditor.

Officers of the recently organized Randolph County Historical Society elected in June are: Minnie Adams, president; Mrs. John McConachie, vice-president; Hortense Hood, secretary-treasurer. The meeting was held in the Chester Public Library. On July 16 the group met at the Sparta Public Library. A drive for charter members is on.

The June meeting of the Saline County Historical Society was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ray Durham in Galatia. Before dinner the group visited several historic sites in the county. The program consisted of an informal discussion of history and legends centering around Galatia and Raleigh. J. Ward Barnes, Louis Aaron, Mr. Durham, Mrs. Edna Jones and Mrs. Essie Musgrave led the discussion and answered questions on the history of the area. On August 2 eighty members met for a potluck supper at old Shawneetown. Louis Aaron acted as guide on a tour of the town. He presented a mimeographed history of the old buildings to each tourist. Following supper there was a session of reminiscences by natives of Shawneetown.

Officers of the Southern Illinois Historical Society elected in May are: John Wright, president; Mrs. L. O. Trigg, vice-president; Mrs. Katherine Griffith, secretary-treasurer; and N. W. Draper, archivist. New directors chosen are W. H. Farley and W. S. Burkhart.

The annual picnic of the Stephenson County Historical Society was held June 13 on the grounds of the Society's museum in Freeport. Short talks and a pictorial display of fifty Freeport businessmen as they looked in 1909 were a part of the program.

John W. Allen spoke to the Wayne County Historical Society on June 4. Mr. Allen, a native of southern Illinois, is on the staff of Southern Illinois University and is widely known for his articles on the history of the area. The meeting was held in the music room of the Fairfield elementary school. Wasson W. Lawrence is president of the Society.

The Winnebago County Historical Society was reactivated in May. Originally organized in 1940, the Society had been inactive for some time. Revival of the group was suggested by Linden Lundstrom, chairman of the Rockford Mayor's Commission on Cultural Relations. The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford was host at its home in the Erlander Museum for a coffee hour and tour of the museum preceding the business meeting.

—PENCE
JAN 32 1955

Journal
of the
ILLINOIS STATE
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"RIVER BOAT AND BRIDGE" AT PITTSFIELD

page 443

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
WINTER 1954

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THE FIRST AUTOMOBILE RACE IN AMERICA

BY RUSSELL H. ANDERSON

"Ready!" shouted Judge Kimball, as he stood, watch in hand, at the side of the Duryea wagon.

J. F. Duryea leaped into the wagon, followed by Arthur W. White, the umpire. At 8:55 o'clock the word "Go" was uttered, and the motorcycle passed swiftly through the crowd, which opened and closed on it as it rushed on.¹

In these words the *Chicago Times-Herald* recorded the start of the first automobile race in America, held in Chicago under its sponsorship on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1895. This race had been originally scheduled for November 2, but only two cars were ready and it was postponed. As a "consolation," a preliminary race for a prize of \$500 was run on November 2. The regular race with the larger prizes was run on Thanksgiving Day over streets covered with several inches of snow.

On July 9, 1895 the *Times-Herald* announced on its front

¹ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 29, 1895. This sponsoring newspaper is the principal source of information about this race, and much of this article is drawn from it. The race was also covered by the *Chicago Tribune*, *Chronicle*, *Record* and *Daily News*. The technical journals stressed the mechanical aspects in their articles about the event.

Russell H. Anderson is chairman of the social studies division of Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola, Florida. He was a member of the staff of the Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago (1929-1946) when material for this article was collected. He is a southern Illinoisan and attended Eastern Illinois State College and the University of Illinois, where he completed his doctorate in History in 1929.

page, under the headline "Prize for Motors," that it was offering a gold medal and \$5,000 in prizes for a race for horseless carriages or motor vehicles, to be run between Milwaukee and Chicago. America was definitely behind Europe in this matter, stated the paper; there were known to be some horseless carriages in America, and the sponsors considered it feasible to construct such a machine in time for the race. Entries of some of the prize winners of the Paris-Rouen race of 1894 and the Paris-Bordeaux race of June, 1895 were also expected.

The promoter of this novel contest was Herman H. Kohlsaat who had recently acquired the *Times-Herald*. In the *Saturday Evening Post* of January 5, 1924, some twenty-eight years after the event, Kohlsaat claimed credit for the idea of the race, but the inaccuracies of his article and the recollections of colleagues of Kohlsaat and his science reporter Frederick U. ("Grizzly") Adams, the *Times-Herald* manager of the race, cast some doubts on this claim. They recall that it was known at that time as Adams' idea. In any event Adams was given the task of formulating the plans, and on June 20 an editorial mentioned the Paris-Bordeaux race, extolled the virtues of the new horseless carriage, and pointed out the necessity of good roads as "indispensable" for a propitious entry of the new era of travel.²

By July 9 preliminary plans were ready for publication. On the following day the enthusiastic editors said, "The close of the century seems destined to witness the decadence of the horse." On July 11 they warned prospective competitors that this was not to be merely a speed contest but was intended to measure the practicability of such machines for general trans-

² The *Saturday Evening Post* article must be used with the greatest caution despite the writer's connection with the race. His statements that he read about the Paris-Bordeaux race in May, 1895 (it was held in June), and that the Chicago race was first set for July 4, then for Labor Day, and that the final date was set in August, are not borne out by contemporary evidence, including Kohlsaat's own newspaper and *L'Illustration*. Later reminiscences by Bernard J. Mullaney, who was on the *Times-Herald* staff at the time, recall that while Kohlsaat was the "angel" of the enterprise, which was promoted as a publicity and circulation stunt, credit for the idea and its execution belongs to Adams. Mullaney to Lenox R. Lohr, Sept. 19, 1945; Oswald F. Schuette to Lohr, May 8, 21, 1945.

portation. They also requested a name for the new machine in place of the terms "horseless carriage," "vehicle motor," and "automobile carriage." G. F. Shaver of New York proposed the name "motocycle," a term which the *Times-Herald* thereafter used.³ Other periodicals also adopted this term.

A *Times-Herald* editorial on July 14 contained some interesting comments:

That the horseless carriage has "arrived" is beyond question but its availability for the American roads is looked upon with skepticism. . . .

If bad roads are going to prevent easy and general introduction of horseless carriages, the people, in whose hands lie all public questions, will abolish bad roads. . . . The horseless carriage will confer an incalculable benefit upon mankind if it shall hasten construction of good roads. . . . State legislatures will have to take up the question all over the country; and in the mid-west, . . . it is certain to be taken up with intelligence and solved wisely. . . . Good roads are the inevitable concomitants of horseless carriages.

On July 16 the race was set for November 2. It was to start near Milwaukee and end in or near Chicago, not farther south than the southern boundary of Lincoln Park. The contest was limited to "automatic carriages, or as they are commonly known, 'horseless carriages'" having three or more running wheels and carrying two or more persons. They might use either petroleum, gasoline, electricity or steam. All entries were to be in by September 15, and all vehicles, except those which had won prizes or honorable mention in the Paris-Rouen or the Paris-Bordeaux races, would be required to pass a preliminary test. Final awards were to be based upon features rated in this order: (1) general utility, (2) speed, (3) cost, (4) economy, and (5) general appearance and excellence of design.

The road north of Waukegan was found to be bad and the original route impracticable. On August 9 the sponsor announced that the route would be changed to include only first-class country roads, and that the race would start and end in Chicago.

³ *Chicago Times-Herald*, July 25, 1895.

Throughout the summer the *Times-Herald* continued to print news and editorials giving the plans for the race, describing such entrants as were available, and proclaiming loudly the tremendous enthusiasm which was being shown. The other Chicago newspapers gave the scheme of their competitor the silent treatment, taking no note of preparations for the event. Technical journals showed considerable interest, and as the time for the race approached a number of them printed descriptions of one or another of the entrants. This interest was particularly strong in the electrical industry magazines, since much experimenting had been done with electric vehicles and they were thought to have a promising future.⁴

The interest of the electrical group and the carriage builders was reflected in the personnel of the committee appointed to supervise the race and the tests which were to make the contest more than a speed trial. Kohlsaat told how the inventors and ambitious mechanics importuned him to aid them until finally he asked President Cleveland to have the War Department take charge of the tests and the race. As he recalled it in 1924, he had in mind the development of motor vehicles for use by the army.

At the request of the President, General Nelson A. Miles appointed as chairman Major General Wesley Merritt, Commander of the Department of the Missouri, who named as his assistant Colonel Marshall I. Luddington. The other members of the committee were John P. Barrett, city electrician of Chicago and formerly Chief of Electricity at the Columbian Exposition, and Henry Timken of St. Louis, president of the National Carriage Builders Association. Barrett named Leland L. Summers, editor of *Electrical Engineering*, as his assistant, while Timken's aide was C. F. Kimball, Chicago carriage manufacturer. Summers served as secretary of the committee for a time and then, with Barrett and John Lundie, on the com-

⁴ A Sturges electric vehicle which had been exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition was entered in this race. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1895.

mittee in charge of tests. Later the secretary was Dr. J. Allen Hornsby, editor of the *Electrical Journal*.⁵

On September 28 the *Times-Herald* published what purported to be a complete entry list—eighty-three machines—and a map of the new route from Chicago to Waukegan and return. Starting at Midway Plaisance and Jackson Park, the course ran through Washington Park, west on Fifty-fifth Street to Western Avenue, thence northward through Douglas, Garfield and Humboldt parks, northwest along Milwaukee Avenue and out the Chicago-Milwaukee gravel road, along the Des Plaines River, through Half Day and to a point slightly northwest of Waukegan; into Waukegan and south through Lake Bluff, Lake Forest, Highland Park, Winnetka and Evanston, and along Sheridan Road to the Grant monument in Lincoln Park.

Preliminary tests on October 29, 30 and 31, to secure technical data on each entry and to debar any machines that were impracticable or unsafe, were held at Washington Park Club race course, to which admission was by ticket. The testing apparatus had been built by Lundie and Summers especially for this race. All cars were supposed to appear before 1:00 P.M. on November 1 or risk disqualification, but there seems to have been an understanding that tests could be made after the race. The first trial, that of Mueller's Benz, was begun on October 29 as planned. Three machines using petroleum, steam or electricity appeared on October 30 but none was submitted to a test.⁶

Kohlsaat made application to the commissioners of Lincoln Park, South Park and West Park to secure permission to use the streets for such an unusual event. He cited the rules to assure the commissioners that this was in no sense a speed contest which might endanger life and property, and stated that the start would be made early so that the contestants

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1895; *The Carriage Monthly*, Jan., 1896, p. 227; *The Engineer* [London], LXXX: 495; *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 5, 1924, p. 21.

⁶ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Oct. 29, 30, 31, Nov. 1, 1895.

would "not interfere with the pleasure traffic of the parks or boulevards." To reassure the board further he wrote that such machines were in daily use on the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne.⁷

In spite of advancing the starting time to 7:30 A.M. it was feared that darkness would overtake the contestants, and a hardware company offered to furnish all entrants with lamps for their vehicles. From Glencoe to Chicago the signs along the route were to be lighted with lanterns to guide the racers.⁸

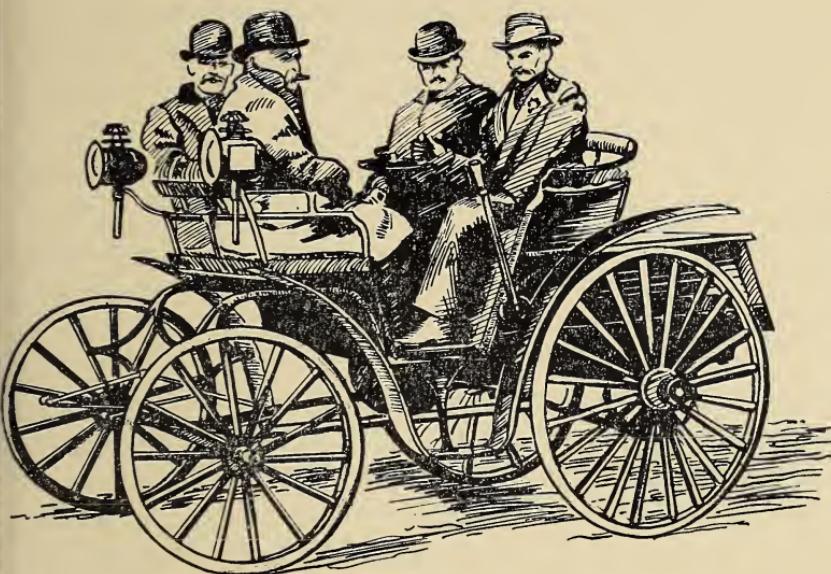
As the time for the event approached, only a few contestants were ready. A number of entrants had petitioned the judges to delay the race, and they postponed it until Thanksgiving Day, November 28. However, it was decided to stage a preliminary "consolation" race for such cars as were ready. A prize of \$500 was offered for an exhibition race over the announced course and Mueller and Duryea entered their machines.⁹

The race of November 2 was run under good weather conditions. Since there were three railroad crossings between State and Halsted streets, where a speed contest might be interrupted, the race proper started at Halsted and Fifty-fifth Street and followed the announced route. Duryea's machine was running well and without incident until he overtook a farm wagon loaded with hay on a narrow road near Libertyville. The farmer did not turn out quickly enough to meet the

⁷ *Lincoln Park Official Proceedings*, minutes, Sept. 23, 1895; *West Park Official Proceedings*, minutes, Sept. 24, 1895; *South Park Official Proceedings*, minutes, Sept. 11, 1895; E. G. Shumway, secretary, to J. F. Foster, superintendent, Sept. 13, 1895, Chicago Park District Vault. In response to a letter from J. Allen Hornsby on behalf of the American Motor League, "The Superintendent [of Lincoln Park] was instructed to use his judgment in regard to the exclusion of motorcycles; provided that such motorcycles as were found to be inoffensive may run on the Park Drives and Boulevards if he sees fit." *Lincoln Park General Correspondence*, minutes, Dec. 18, 1895.

⁸ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 1, 1895. The *Chronicle* on Nov. 3 quoted a motorcycle manufacturer—evidently one who did not have an entry ready—as follows: "The contest has proved to be just what nearly all of us expected—a farce . . . boisterous mirth . . . breaks loose among noninterested persons when the motorcycle contest is mentioned. . . . But four entries qualified. It is to be doubted if more than one could by any possibility have gone over the route. To have attempted a race would have made the projectors the butt of the ridicule of all of Chicago. . . ." See also *The Motorcycle* (Nov., 1895), Vol. 1, pp. 17-20.

⁹ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 2, 1895.



WINNER OF THE NOVEMBER 2, 1895 RACE

The Mueller-Benz motorcycle placed second in the race held on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1895. This drawing was made from a contemporary newspaper picture.

situation. The brakes on the machine were inadequate and the driver chose to go into the ditch rather than hit the wagon. In the mishap a wheel was smashed and the car was out of the race.¹⁰ Mueller in his Benz machine covered the 92 miles from Halsted Street to Waukegan and back to the Grant monument in Lincoln Park in an elapsed time of 9 hours 22½ minutes, or a running time of 8 hours 44 minutes.

On November 11 the judges met and decided to change

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1895. J. Frank Duryea recalled fifty years later that it was not the wheel but the axle which was broken. He told how the farmer was driving on the left side of the road as the car approached. Although there was room to pass on the right he thought it advisable to sound the horn to warn the farmer, who thereupon turned to the right into the path of the car (interview, Nov., 1945). The *Chronicle* of Nov. 3, 1895 declared that the race did not have "the interesting features of a wheelbarrow race at a Fourth of July celebration." For other accounts see *The Carriage Monthly*, Nov., 1895, pp. 228-31; *The Horseless Age*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (Nov., 1895), 14-15; *Scientific American*, Vol. 73, pp. 315-16. Chris Sinsabaugh in his book "Who, Me?", *Forty Years of Automobile History* (Detroit, 1940), 39-40, tells how he followed the cars on a tandem bicycle.

the course in view of the possibilities of bad weather (and perhaps because of Duryea's accident). On November 16 the *Times-Herald* published the revised rules for the race, a map and a description of the new fifty-five mile course.

The race was to start at Jackson Park, at the junction of Stony Island Avenue and Midway Plaisance. It was announced that "the umpires are expected to be at the Sixtieth Street station of the Illinois Central Railroad at 8 o'clock the start being made just east of the depot."¹¹ The route went west on Midway Plaisance and through Washington Park, west on Fifty-fifth Street and north on Michigan Avenue. It crossed the river on the Rush Street bridge, returned to Michigan at Chicago Avenue, and followed the lake shore through Lincoln Park (generally close to the present Sheridan Road) to the northern end of the race loop, Davis Street between Forest and Chicago avenues in Evanston. The latter part of the course extended through Humboldt, Garfield and Douglas parks, down Western Avenue, and east along Fifty-fifth Street and the starting route to the starting point.

In the early morning hours of Monday, November 25, a wet snow began to fall, and by 9:15 A.M. on Tuesday it had reached a depth of twelve inches. "The heavy wet snow accompanied by high north to northwest winds, caused a great deal of damage to telegraph, telephone and fire alarm wires in the city by freezing on them as it fell and loading them down with a coating of ice. . . . Street car companies and the railroads in the city were also greatly delayed by the wet snow."¹²

The *Times-Herald* sounded off bravely that the snow

¹¹ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 28, 29, 1895. In describing the race the paper tells of the crowds along 60th Street and the cheering at 60th and Cottage Grove. A picture of the Morris and Salom machine published in *The Motorcycle*, Dec., 1895, p. 21, shows the machine on the south side of the Midway. A picture of the cars lined up at the starting point shows the building of the present Museum of Science and Industry in the background but is not in itself conclusive as to the exact location. Sinsabaugh, "Who, Me?" facing p. 39; *Automobile Trade Journal*, Vol. 29. Charles B. King, umpire-driver in the Mueller-Benz, believed that the start was made at 59th Street (interview, Nov., 1945).

¹² *Journal of the Chicago Weather Station (MS)*, Vol. 12.

would not stop the race. Morris and Salom's Electrobat made a run in the snow, and Mueller's Benz drove to the testing room at 1557 South Wabash Avenue amid considerable excitement. Several horses became unmanageable at the sight of the strange machine.

Owing to the deep snow covering the pavement the driver . . . was compelled to get out of the motorcycle, and with the aid of several persons, push the vehicle along. In this way the vehicle was taken [from South Water] to Lake Street. After being placed on the street car tracks in Lake Street it proceeded eastward without assistance.¹³

The judges decided that the race should go on, but in view of the condition of the roads, they removed the time limit. However, one of the judges said later that it was understood that unless the machines finished on the day of the race they would be disqualified.¹⁴

On Wednesday the *Times-Herald* published the list of prospective starters, with the thirty-one assigned numbers. By the morning of the race these had decreased to eleven, and only six finally reached the starting line. "Haynes and Apperson had a handsome wagon and started for Jackson Park . . . fully intending to be in the race. In making a sharp turn at Indiana Avenue and 38th Street to avoid a street car, the forward wheel of the motorcycle was smashed and Haynes and Apperson had to give up the idea of racing."¹⁵ The Duryea Motor Wagon Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, entered the gasoline-powered machine of its own manufacture which had started on November 2. The De la Vergne Refrigerating Machine Company of New York entered a modified Benz gasoline car which had won fifth prize in the Paris-Bordeaux race. Morris and Salom of Philadelphia entered an electric machine called the Electrobat. H. Mueller and Sons of Decatur, Illinois, had their modified Benz which had

¹³ *Chicago Record*, Nov. 27, 1895.

¹⁴ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 26, 28, Dec. 5, 1895. J. P. Barrett reported the midnight time limit.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1895.

won the November 2 run. R. H. Macy and Company of New York entered a car made by M. Roger of France after the Benz model. The Sturges Electric Motocycle Company of Chicago entered its electric machine, which had been exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition.

Thousands were waiting at Jackson Park and Midway Plaisance at 8:30 o'clock to watch the contest. . . . Professor Barrett, C. F. Kimball and L. L. Summers, the judges of the motorcycle contest, had to push their way through a dense crowd on Midway Plaisance at 8:30 yesterday morning [Thanksgiving Day]. The Morris & Salom wagon was the first on the scene, but it was quickly followed by the Macy, Duryea, Sturges and De la Vergne machines. Reports came that the Mueller wagon had broken down on the way to the starting point. The trouble was with the new belts which had been placed on the machines on the previous day. They would not work smoothly, and this made the Mueller machine late in starting. . . . Toward 9:00 o'clock the judges announced that the race would begin and ordered the competitors to get up their power in readiness for the start.¹⁶

Then came the "Ready" and "Go" signals and the race was on. The Duryea machine started at 8:55, the De la Vergne entry at 8:56, Macy's at 8:59, the Sturges Electric at 9:01, the Morris & Salom Electrobat at 9:02, and the delayed Mueller entry at 10:06:45.

The De la Vergne machine had won a place in the Paris-Bordeaux race over good roads, but was unable to get sufficient traction to push through the snow and the driver gave up the race after encountering snowdrifts in Washington Park. He turned off the course and, with some assistance in the deep snow, reached the test headquarters.

Crowds cheered the Duryea machine at Sixtieth Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, at the entrance to Washington Park. The Sturges Electric was given permission to go down the clear tracks of Cottage Grove Avenue and avoid the snow in the park. It is not clear what route this car took in getting back on the prescribed course. Charles B. King says that the Mueller-Benz car, on which he was the umpire, went north on

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Cottage Grove Avenue, returning to the route on Michigan Avenue at or near Twenty-second Street.

The run through the downtown district on Michigan Avenue was uneventful except for a collision near the Art Institute, where the Macy-Roger machine slid on the streetcar rails and crashed into the rear of an Adams Street horsecar. The gearing was somewhat damaged, but the motorcycle was apparently not in bad shape. The rear dashboard of the horsecar was badly damaged. The delay due to this accident was short and the Macy machine continued. However, later in the race, it had some difficulty, part of which was ascribed to the collision.

By the time the Mueller-Benz entry reached Lincoln Park its pneumatic tires were wrapped with twine to keep them from spinning, and one of the operatives was sanding the belt to keep it from slipping. As this machine passed the old water tower on Michigan Avenue one of the men called to the crowd, "'We are just one hour and sixteen minutes out from Jackson Park.' The distance was all of nine miles and the spectators . . . applauded back."¹⁷

The Duryea machine ran without a stop to the corner of Rush and Erie streets where it hit a high crossing (*i.e.* stepping stones) and broke the steering gear. Although he was violating the rules, the driver sought a nearby blacksmith to make repairs. After a delay of fifty-five minutes the car continued on its way.

The Sturges Electric reached the north end of Lincoln Park before its batteries became exhausted and it gave up the race. The Morris and Salom electric, in which Hiram P. Maxim rode as umpire, ran smoothly. At 10:27 it reached Thirtieth-seventh and Michigan, where new batteries were installed. "In exactly five minutes the four little boxes, weighing but 150 pounds each, were exchanged and the trim little 'bat' was off again, plowing up the snow."¹⁸ A second set of bat-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

teries was put in at Bank Street and Lake Shore Drive at 12:02 in a seven-minute stop. After having traveled ten or twelve miles and demonstrated the machine's ability, the driver turned about in Lincoln Park and drove to the test rooms at Sixteenth and Wabash without incident. The owners of the electric machines had emphasized before the race that, owing to the limitations of the batteries and the difficulties of replacement under the circumstances, they had no expectation of finishing the race but merely wished to prove that their machines were practicable for "normal" distance driving even under adverse circumstances.

The newspaper account of the race north of Lincoln Park spoke of the Macy machine "steaming" north on Sheridan Road and of the Duryea entry "bowling" along. The Duryea car overtook the Macy on Foster Avenue and, according to the rules, the latter pulled over and allowed the faster machine to pass. While coming back through Rogers Park the Macy machine, in trying to go around a hack driven by a jealous hackman who refused to share the road, hit the vehicle and bent the steering gear so that it was almost useless. By keeping on the car tracks the driver managed to reach the relay station a mile farther on, at Clark Street and Devon Avenue. Here the machine stopped an hour and twenty minutes for repairs. The machinery was also cleaned and six gallons of naphtha and seven gallons of water were taken on. At this point the Mueller-Benz was trailing, having made several stops to oil and fix the clutch rough roads had bent.

The Macy car was forced to quit the race in Douglas Park at 6:20 when the motor gave out. As it was described, "the cylinder [opened] up to let in the moisture so that it would not carburate." The driver worked on the engine until 11:30 P.M. but could not make it run satisfactorily and he abandoned the race. The next day the car was repaired and reached the finishing point late on November 29.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1895.

At Clark Street and Lawrence Avenue the driver of the Duryea machine mistook the direction of the hand on the guidepost and went down the wrong street, going two miles out of the way before striking the regular route at Diversey. When this car reached Douglas Park near six o'clock there was no one to greet it except a representative of the sponsor.

"Not fifty people saw the last stages of the finish or knew that the Duryea had established a world's record in the capacity of a motorcycle to conquer even King Winter himself. It was just 7:18 when Frank Duryea threw himself out of the seat of the motor and announced the end."²⁰ Having started at 8:55, his elapsed time was 10 hours and 23 minutes. He had been delayed fifty-five minutes at Erie and Rush streets, as related above, and forty-five minutes at Diversey near Clark, when the "spark" broke.²¹

At 8:53, with John Lundy [*sic*], one of the judges, holding the watch, the Mueller motor crossed the line, second in the race, and, considering the lateness of the hour at which she started, really only twenty-four or twenty-five minutes behind the Duryea. Her journey through the parks and boulevards of the city proper was even more lonesome than that of the Duryea to the spectators . . . and only the officials of the race and the reporters saw the end of the great battle against the snow and a too kindly sun.²²

Charles B. King, the umpire who was riding in the Mueller machine, reported that after leaving the second relay

²⁰ *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 5, 1924.

²¹ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 29, 1895; *The Horseless Age*, Vol. 1, no. 3, p. 30; *Engineer* [London], Vol. 80, p. 1. "Conditions for the race . . . could scarcely have been worse. During the blizzard of Monday night a foot of snow and sleet fell. The thaw of [Thanksgiving Day] made the roads for part of the distance muddy and slushy. . . . The race soon settled down to a speed contest between [the Duryea] and the Mueller and the Macy machines. The race was rather even until the streets in the northwestern part of the city were reached. Here the slushy snow was two feet deep in some places and at others the mud was so bad that it was almost impossible to make any progress. . . . Despite the football attractions, the open theaters and the many dinner parties the race was watched with keen interest by thousands at all points along the line of progress." *Chicago Record*, Nov. 29, 1895.

The *Chicago Chronicle* reported the race quite fully, contributing the story that the Duryea machine lost one of its tires, which attendants tied on with ropes. On the morning following the race the *Chicago Tribune* published a depreciatory account of the event, remarking that at 9 P.M. all but two of the machines "were lost—wandering aimlessly about the streets of Chicago or lying wrecked in some gutter along the way."

²² *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 5, 1924.

we began to feel the effects of the strain. Oscar Mueller had not been able to get any breakfast and the three of us had only a sandwich apiece for lunch. After about thirty-five miles had been covered Reid changed his place on the motorcycle for one on a cutter. [Although he did not so report at the time King recalled in 1945 that Reid was taken from the motorcycle unconscious.] Mueller seemed to go to pieces quickly after this. When we reached Halsted and Fifty-fifth Streets Mr. Mueller lost consciousness. I seized the lever and guided the wagon south to Sixty-third Street, then to State Street, on to Sixty-first Street, over to Washington Avenue [now Blackstone] and . . . down the Midway Plaisance to the finishing point. During the trip we took on board six gallons of gasoline, six pails of ice and three pails of snow.²³

Everett E. Ettinger of Chicago was an unofficial participant in the race. When the Macy car made a stop on Sheridan Road he was granted permission to ride in it. He confirms the newspaper account of the Macy turning to one side to allow Duryea to pass and recalls that when the Macy car hit a cutter in Evanston the motorist handed the sleigh driver a five-dollar bill and all was well. Of the incident regarding the hack he says, "the driver [of the hack] was either too slow or indifferent to get out of the way." During the afternoon when they were near his home, Ettinger left the car, ran home, hastily gathered up portions of a Thanksgiving dinner, and rejoined his companions with a welcome meal. When the car finally stopped in Douglas Park he made a trip by streetcar and elevated to the neighborhood of Jackson Park and returned about midnight with a French engineer, name unknown, who was familiar with the engine. The driver had gone, but it was arranged that the French engineer should return the following day to determine the trouble. As he recalls, this engineer reported "that all the engine needed was a little packing in the cylinders."²⁴

Edward M. Kerwin of Oak Park recalls that as a boy he was walking down State Street on the way to church on Thanksgiving Day when his attention was drawn to a crowd on Rush Street. Hurrying to the scene he found a strange machine,

²³ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Nov. 30, 1895.

²⁴ Ettinger to Lohr, Nov. 11, 18, 1945.

which he learned the next day was the Duryea car. "It was an entirely open affair with a seat across and some sort of a steering handle, not a wheel. We were told that the car had broken some part of the steering mechanism and that it had been taken to a nearby blacksmith for repairs. I believe they had to rout the blacksmith out of his home."²⁵

The judges considered the reports of the umpires who had ridden on the machines and the data taken in the tests before arriving at their decision, which was made on December 5 and published in the *Times-Herald* the next day:

An award of \$2,000 to the Duryea Motor Wagon Company of Springfield, Mass., for the best performance in the road race, for range of speed and pull, with compactness of design.

An award of \$1,500 to the H. Mueller & Co. motorcycle, of Decatur, Ill., for performance in the road race and economy in operation.

An award of \$500 to the R. H. Macy & Co. motorcycle, of New York, for showing made in the road race.

An award of \$500 to the Sturges Electric Motocycle, of Chicago, for showing made in the road race.

An award of the *Times-Herald* gold medal to the Morris & Salom electrobat, of Philadelphia, for best showing made in the official tests, for safety, ease of control, absence of noise, vibration, heat or odor, cleanliness and general excellence of design and workmanship. . . .

In addition minor awards were also made for points of technical achievement.

The problem presented to the judges was a knotty one and every point was most carefully considered and weighed. The reports of the umpires who rode on the various vehicles were read. It was found that all three of the contestants who finished at Jackson Park had violated some of the most vital rules laid down for the government of the contestants. Both Duryea and Mueller, who finished first and second, respectively, had wandered away from the official route, and therefore had no valid claim for consideration as prize winners. Macy did not finish on the day of the race and was therefore debarred by the implied time limit. Duryea called in the aid of a blacksmith in direct violation of the rules and Mueller was aided by outside persons at several points along the route. It was therefore found that under any possible construction of the plain rules of the race not a contestant had a valid claim to a first prize award. . . . "The judges were compelled to make

²⁵ Kerwin to the author, May 9, 1945.

their awards based on the showings in the tests and in the road race. The test took precedence in the rules, but the remarkable run made by Duryea and Mueller compelled substantial recognition. It was deemed fair to make an award of the gold medal based largely on the tests, and it, therefore, went to Morris & Salom. The other awards were made on road performance and on special points of design....²⁶

The judges had taken extensive pains to make thorough-going tests and they carefully prepared the results for the benefit of all who were interested. The report of the committee on tests with detailed figures on performance was published in the *Times-Herald* on February 16, 1896, and America's first auto race was over.

• • • •

The Golden Anniversary re-enactment of this race was staged under the auspices of the Museum of Science and Industry on Thanksgiving Day, November 22, 1945, as a part of a month-long celebration honoring the pioneers of the automobile industry and depicting the progress of fifty years in that field. The writer served as historian for this event, prepared the historical handbook upon which it was based, and, enveloped by a raccoon coat, drove a 1909 Hupmobile. None of the original cars was extant but they were represented by five of the earliest autos available and in condition to make the run. These were followed by a representative gallery covering the intervening period and ending with a number of the latest models.

The event, which could scarcely be called a race, was scheduled over the same route as that used in 1895, with a few deviations necessitated by street changes and the additional run from the Museum of Science and Industry to the Midway at Stony Island Avenue. The "race" cars led the procession which began at 9 A.M. First in line as they passed in front of the Museum was No. 5, an 1896 Duryea, driven by J. Frank Duryea, who drove the winning Duryea in 1895

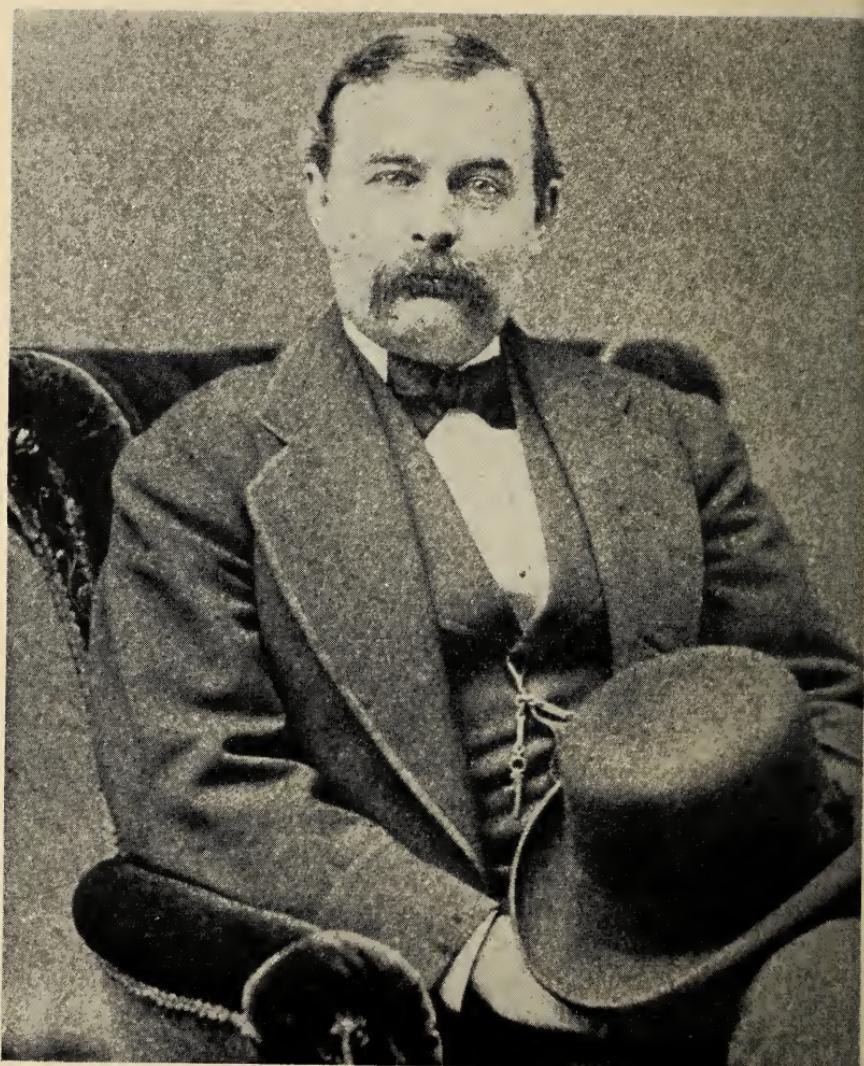
²⁶ *Chicago Times-Herald*, Dec. 6, 1895.



THE "RACE" OF FIFTY YEARS LATER

In the lead in the 1945 rerunning of America's first automobile race is a 1902 Sears autobuggy, followed by a 1905 Oldsmobile.

with the same number. His passenger was Charles B. King, umpire in the Mueller-Benz car which came in second in that race. Due to the rigors of the weather these old-timers soon gave way to younger drivers. The day opened cold and bleak with a temperature of 16 degrees and a strong wind, which increased in severity along Michigan Avenue and in Lincoln Park. Snow which began to fall about starting time added to the difficulties. As in 1895, engines stalled, drivers raced to get back into line, and curious crowds waved from the curb. So the "race" wore on until (with a luncheon stop in Evanston) the automobiles pulled into the parking lot at the Museum at 3:59 P.M. The running time had been 4 hours 28 minutes and the speed about twelve miles an hour.



FRANCIS EDWARD HINCKLEY

(1834-1900)

HINCKLEY'S RAILROAD EMPIRE

BY BLAINE BROOKS GERNON

FRANCIS EDWARD HINCKLEY, railroad builder in Illinois, was born at Elmira, New York, on March 13, 1834, one of six children¹ of Alfred and Eliza Stanley Hinckley. Francis' father claimed descent from an old American line distinguished by Thomas Hinckley, governor of Plymouth Colony (1680-1692). Francis' family probably lived on a small farm near the edge of Elmira. In 1846, persuaded by relatives, they moved to Galesburg, then a little town in western Illinois at the crossroads of important stagecoach routes, soon supplemented by railroads. Alfred Hinckley selected a good farm site near the town. Young Francis entered Knox College in 1850 at the age of sixteen, remaining until 1856, but was not graduated. According to family recollections he was a schoolteacher for a time, and there is other evidence² that he lived in Aurora, Illinois.

Francis Hinckley's name appeared in the Chicago city

¹ The others were George, William, Charles, Mary and Harriet.

² George R. Perrine, Aurora lawyer, states that his father, who lived in Hinckley, Ill. and helped build the Chicago & Iowa Railroad, told him that Hinckley resided in Aurora.

*Blaine Brooks Gernon, before his death on April 13, 1954, was a Chicago attorney whose hobby was history. He was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, the Abraham Lincoln Association and other historical groups, and was the author of a number of articles and books on Abraham Lincoln, among them *The Lincolns in Chicago* (1934) and *Lincoln in the Political Circus* (1936).*

directory of 1866, as a partner of Ferdinand E. Canda³ in "Canda & Hinckley, Bridge Builders and Contractors." That year he boarded at the St. Cloud House, 112-114 South Franklin Street. Until his marriage in 1880 he roomed or boarded at a number of places, usually on the west side of the city.

In 1867, when the firm of Canda & Hinckley was employed to build a wagon bridge over Rock River at Oregon, Illinois, about ninety miles west of Chicago, Hinckley made the acquaintance of a little group of men who were desperately trying to build a fifteen-mile railroad between Oregon and Rochelle on the Chicago & North Western line. Sensing an opportunity, or a challenge, he joined the venture. In spite of failure to interest Henry Keep, president of the North Western, in the scheme, Hinckley was elected president of the Ogle & Carroll County Railroad,⁴ which in 1868 the group managed to commence building. Time was important, for delegates were elected that year to write a new state constitution, which was expected to curtail the right of local taxing bodies to invest in railroads. Most railroad promotions were hastened to beat the deadline, and the doors were opened to many a railroad contractor. Construction often went ahead of population or business demands and brought on heated competition and failures. These factors probably spurred Hinckley in a new plan for extending his little railroad to Aurora, where he hoped for a more appreciative and profitable connection.

Early in 1870 he sought assistance from James F. Joy,⁵ the western railroad king. The Illinois Central line ran eastward from Sioux City, Iowa, to Freeport, Illinois, where it turned south to join the Chicago branch at Centralia. At Freeport it

³ Canda's name appears in Chicago directories from 1866 through 1883. The Canda-Hinckley partnership lasted only two years.

⁴ Chartered Feb. 18, 1857 and organized Jan. 24, 1860. W. W. Baldwin, comp., *Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company Documentary History* (Chicago, 1928), I: 973.

⁵ James Frederick Joy (1810-1896) was founder of the Michigan Central and Burlington railroads; president of the Burlington, 1866, Michigan Central, 1867; employed Abraham Lincoln as attorney for the Illinois Central.

exchanged passenger and freight business to and from Chicago with the North Western under an old agreement.⁶ Joy and Hinckley now hatched up a scheme to take this business away from the North Western by extending Hinckley's line east to Aurora on the Burlington, and west to Forreston on the Illinois Central. Joy, writing in 1872 to J. M. Walker, president of the Burlington, expressed doubts that Alonzo Kinyon would ever complete the Chicago & Rock River Railroad, and added by way of contrast about Hinckley and his associates that "*They shall make the Pekin Road go.*"⁷ Hinckley was kept busy raising money along his right-of-way—Daniel B. Waterman,⁸ Aurora hardware merchant, claimed he raised some \$800,000 for the little road. At Rock River, Hinckley erected at a cost of \$90,000 a Howe Truss Bridge which was hailed as one of the finest in the state.

The eighty-two-mile Aurora-Forreston line, by then known as the Chicago & Iowa Railroad,⁹ was opened on New Year's Day, 1872; trains were advertised to run "if snow permitted." It was a great day for Hinckley, and an even greater one for the people and towns along the right-of-way. So elated were they that Squaw Grove, in DeKalb County, was renamed "Hinckley,"¹⁰ while the next station westward was christened "Waterman."¹¹ An injunction obtained by the North Western against the use of the new inter-line was soon dissolved, and the Chicago business of the Illinois Central was rolling over the Chicago & Iowa and the Burlington just as

⁶ The Galena & Chicago Union (later absorbed by the North Western) had been chartered to build westward to Galena, but had stopped at Freeport when the Illinois Central was first to build between Galena and Freeport. The North Western claimed that in exchange for the cession of its rights to build west of Freeport it had received the promise that such an inter-line would be permanent.

⁷ Burlington Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁸ Waterman is reputed to have lost his entire personal fortune in the C. & I. venture.

⁹ The Ogle & Carroll County had merged on April 3, 1871, into the Chicago & Iowa (incorporated March 30, 1869). Corporate Record Book, *ibid.* Hinckley's Chicago office in 1871 was at 84 Randolph St. Many of his records were lost in the Chicago Fire.

¹⁰ *The Voters and Tax-Payers of DeKalb County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1876), 131.

¹¹ *The Biographical Record of Kane County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1898), 237-39.

Hinckley and Joy had planned. The former had overcome great obstacles to achieve a railroad promoter's fondest dream: he had a bridge road.

However, still unsatisfied, in 1872 he became interested in the Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern Railroad,¹² then being promoted by a Pekin lawyer, Benjamin F. Prettyman, and projected from Pekin to Chicago via Marseilles.¹³ Hinckley secured control of this project, changed its course from Pekin to Streator, where it met the Ottawa, Oswego & Fox River Valley Railroad,¹⁴ then being promoted and built as a feeder for the Burlington's main line at Aurora. Hinckley had strong and efficient partners in Colonel Ralph Plumb of Streator and Philip B. Shumway of Chicago,¹⁵ but his master stroke was in securing the financial assistance of Moses Taylor,¹⁶ president of the National City Bank of New York. The Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern's 56½ miles of track were completed on January 6, 1873. Despite difficulties in financing, quarrels with the original board and stock repudiations¹⁷ Hinckley managed to finish and open this little line which he was to cherish tenderly for the next fifteen years. (The road should have been built economically, as the rails were furnished by the nearby Joliet Iron & Steel Company.)

Was Hinckley merely an agent of the Burlington, or was he a successful promoter and builder whose abilities that railroad recognized and supported? The advantage was all with the Burlington; Hinckley certainly received little help from

¹² The Chicago & Plainfield Railroad, chartered Feb. 4, 1859, changed its name March 29, 1869 to Chicago, Plainfield & Pekin Railroad, and on April 19, 1870 to Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern. Santa Fe records supplied by Lee Lyles of Santa Fe staff.

¹³ In 1870 it was reported as bridged and graded between Pekin and Marseilles, a distance of 65 miles.

¹⁴ Chartered Aug. 22, 1852; opened Jan. 15, 1871. Hinckley was a director in the 1870's.

¹⁵ Plumb (1816-1909) served in the Union Army and after the Civil War founded Streator and was mayor and congressman; Shumway, who lived in Evanston, later became an official of several Illinois roads.

¹⁶ Taylor's chief interests were sugar imports, the Lackawanna Railroad and the Atlantic cable.

¹⁷ On the grounds that the Pekin road, originally projected as a rival of the Burlington, had been made a feeder to it.

it toward financing his roads, and when they failed it made no visible efforts to save him or any of his associates. Hinckley probably completed the Chicago & Rock River Railroad,¹⁸ a short line between Shabbona and Rock Falls, as a contractor and at the urging of the Burlington.

Soon after the Chicago & Iowa opened Hinckley and his associates formed the Midland Construction Company¹⁹ and took over the construction and promotion of the projected Chicago & Paducah Railroad,²⁰ between Streator, Illinois, and Paducah, Kentucky. When this road reached Windsor, Shelby County, in 1872, Hinckley sent a special train, with a large number of railroad dignitaries, businessmen, officers and board members, and a few New York capitalists, on board.²¹ Judge Lawrence S. Trimble came up all the way from Paducah, looking forward to the day when the road would reach southward to his city. But the Judge was to be disappointed; on July 10, 1874 the line stopped at Altamont, 156 miles from Streator. A year and a half later, to avoid a lawsuit, it built a spur to Effingham. It managed to get that far only because Ralph Plumb was able to sell nearly \$3,000,000 of its bonds in London; local donations and subscriptions had been only \$540,000.²²

Despite the fact that Hinckley controlled some 350 miles of railroad and managed finances amounting to ten million dollars, he sought additional outlets for his energies. In 1874-1875 he was agent for the Kingsbury estate and also re-

¹⁸ Chartered March 24, 1869; organized May 14, 1869, and opened its 46.18 miles of track on Oct. 16, 1872. *Burlington Documentary History*, I: 1031. The only position Hinckley ever had with this road was as a director.

¹⁹ A consolidation (1872) of Ralph Plumb & Co. and D. Strawn & Co., both railroad contractors.

²⁰ Formed by the consolidation on March 22, 1872, of the Bloomington & Ohio River Railroad, chartered March 10, 1869, and the Fairbury, Pontiac & Western Railroad, chartered March 7, 1867.

²¹ Hinckley was shrewd, and when embarrassed could lapse into complete silence about his plans, as some of his reports to *Poor's Manual* indicate. There were occasions, however, when he realized the value of publicity.

²² *Poor's Manual*, 1873, p. 160. The London sale was reported by the *Railroad Gazette*, 1873.

ceiver for the Gilman, Clinton & Springfield Railroad.²³ Moreover, he was busy promoting a bridge to span the Mississippi River, and two railroads—the Chicago, Clinton and Western²⁴ and the Chicago & Illinois Southern.²⁵ In 1874 the citizens of Rockford subscribed \$100,000 toward the twenty-four-mile Chicago, Rockford & Northern Railroad, between Rockford and Flagg Center on Hinckley's Chicago & Iowa.²⁶ This move headed off a rival line projected between Rockford and Rochelle.

In hopes of making his Pekin road part of a Chicago-St. Louis inter-line, Hinckley extended it in the fall of 1875 from Streator to Mazon, thus swinging it away from the orbit of the Burlington to that of the Chicago & Alton.²⁷ What the Burlington officials thought of such a move can be imagined. The *Railroad Gazette*, on September 25, 1875, noted that Hinckley was having "difficulties with one of the roads," and he claimed that the Burlington had a real interest in every one of them.

Trouble, however, broke out in another quarter that could hardly be traced to the Burlington. On May 26, 1877 Hinckley was arrested on a warrant sworn out by a "Mr. Fisher, agent for the English bondholders, charging Hinckley with fraud in the inducement to purchase securities of the [Chicago & Paducah] road."²⁸ He was released almost immediately and hurried to Effingham, where he was among friends and was able to have his road placed in a friendly receivership. With a liking for such a pattern of protection—and sorely needing

²³ Incorporated March 4, 1867. Its line between Gilman and Springfield, opened in 1871, later passed to the Illinois Central and is now part of the latter's Chicago-St. Louis road.

²⁴ Opened between Iowa City and Cedar Rapids in 1877.

²⁵ Projected between Hampton and St. Elmo, Ill.

²⁶ It was leased to the C. & I., which owned its stock.

²⁷ This extension opened May 21, 1876. Santa Fe records. At Mazon Creek the C. P. & S. met the Chicago & Illinois River Railroad, controlled by the Alton, which ran to Joliet where it met its parent road. The Alton also controlled the Peoria, Pekin & Jacksonville, which ran from Peoria to Jacksonville where it met a line of the Alton.

²⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1877.

it—he put the Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern in receivership in June, and the Chicago & Iowa in August. Although Hinckley was wont to lay much of the blame for his troubles on officials of the Burlington, and later the Alton, his lines were actually going the way of most railroads of the day. The Panic of 1873, the droughts of 1874 and 1875, and overbuilding were taking their toll.

By this time Hinckley was hobnobbing with such colorful promoters as Jay Gould and Solon Humphries, who were soon to expand the little Wabash Railroad into an empire of vast proportions.²⁹ In 1879 Hinckley let go of his first railroad by selling the Chicago & Paducah to the Wabash,³⁰ which forthwith built from Strawn to Chicago. Since Hinckley's road met the Toledo-St. Louis line of the Wabash at Bement, this gave a continuous Chicago-St. Louis line. As all the men in this venture were on a close friendly basis, it may be assumed that Hinckley's group were amply repaid for their services.

In late September, 1879, Hinckley was again arrested "and locked up for contempt of court, having refused to turn over books and papers and a cash balance to his successor," the receiver of the Pekin road. A writ of habeas corpus failed to release him.³¹ He was apprehended at Springfield, where he had gone to secure relief by an appeal, and put under guard at the St. Nicholas Hotel where "his food is passed to him at regular intervals by a single maiden."³² Next he was moved to Chicago, then one of the four seats of the Illinois Supreme Court, where he was confined at the Clifton House. Finally the United States District Court in Chicago absolved him, but replaced him by A. H. Crocker as receiver of the Pekin road. In 1880 he was again arrested, this time for failing to turn over some \$22,000 as the receiver of the Gilman,

²⁹ On Dec. 7, 1879 the Wabash consolidated with the St. Louis, Kansas City & Pacific and then proceeded to swallow up a dozen roads in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.

³⁰ It was sold on May 1 to a buyer acting for the Wabash, and consolidated with the latter on April 1, 1880.

³¹ *Railroad Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1879.

³² *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1879.

Clinton & Springfield Railroad. He was released on a bond of \$30,000³³ and purged of contempt on his explanation that he was in Joliet when the order was entered and hence uninformed. He could hardly have been out of cash at this time, having sold the Chicago & Paducah the previous year. These jousts with the law and the courts prove that Hinckley was a determined fighter when he considered decisions or orders contrary to his own interests or ideas of justice. "His energy," said the editor of the *Railroad Gazette* in 1871, "has that peculiar element which sportsmen call 'staying qualities' and when he takes hold of an enterprise it is reasonable to count on its fulfillment."³⁴

Long, bitter and expensive court fights over final control of the Chicago & Iowa came in 1879 and 1880. Hinckley considered extending the road from Aurora to Chicago and thus ridding it of the Burlington, but by then the latter had too great an interest in the C. & I. Beset by influential, skillful and determined men, gradually but surely Hinckley and his associates were crowded out, and he lost his second road. Since it was never sold under the hammer, the Burlington was obliged to bargain for the stock.³⁵ After acquiring the line in 1882 the Burlington extended it in 1885-1886 from Oregon, Illinois, to the Twin Cities.³⁶ On May 31, 1881 Hinckley bid in his last railroad, the Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern, and reorganized it on May 10, 1882 as the Chicago, St. Louis & Western—proof that he still had his dream of a Chicago-St. Louis line. By then he was blaming the Alton for his troubles, and to rid himself of them he extended the Pekin road in 1883 from Mazon to Chicago.³⁷

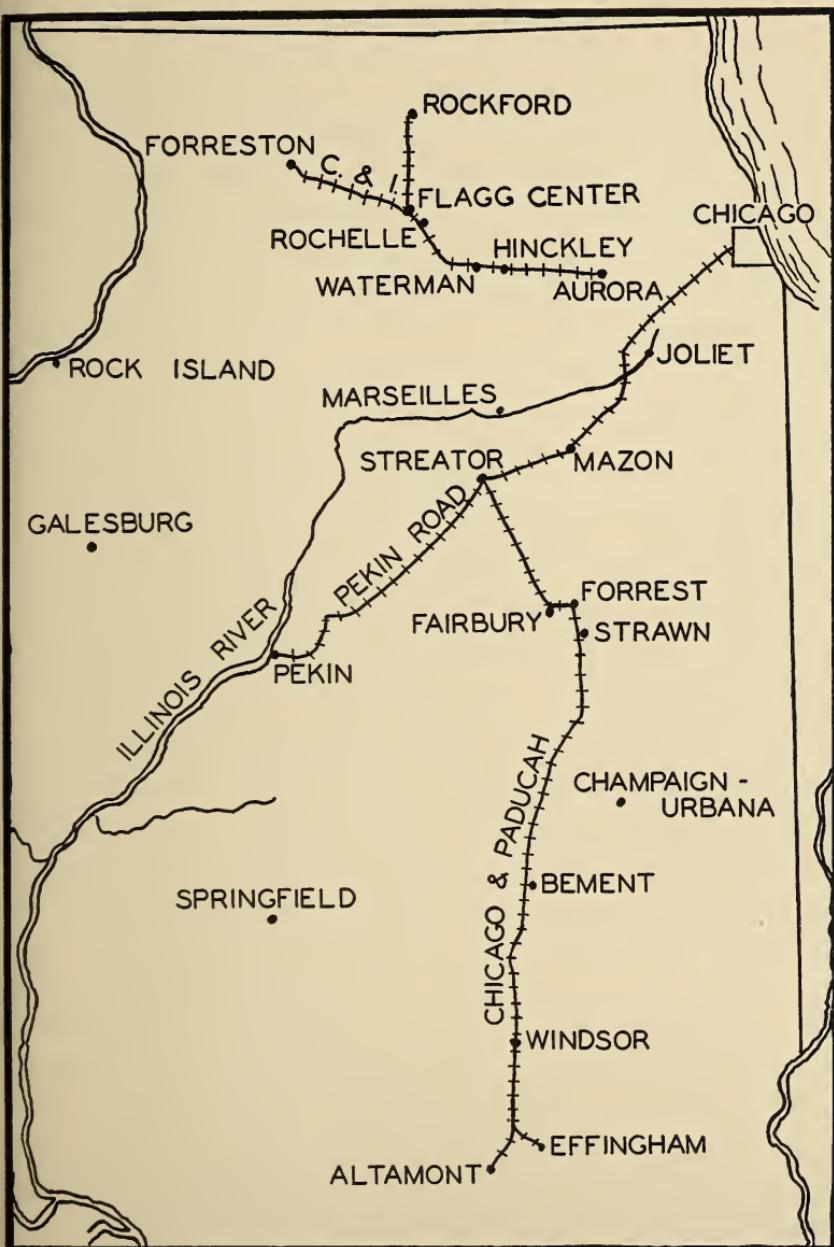
³³ *Railroad Gazette*, April 7, 1880.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1871.

³⁵ The city of Aurora received \$130,000 for its \$100,000 investment in C. & I. stock. On the other hand, Waterman is supposed to have lost everything on the venture.

³⁶ This extension was built by the Chicago, Burlington & Northern, a subsidiary of the Burlington (C. B. & Q.). On June 1, 1899 both it and the C. & I. were deeded to the Burlington. *Burlington Documentary History*, I: 958, 1427, 1430.

³⁷ This extension of 60.2 miles from Mazon Creek to Crawford Ave., Chicago (now Pulaski Road), was opened Jan. 1, 1884. *Ibid.*



HINCKLEY'S RAILROAD EMPIRE

His three lines, all of them in Illinois, were the Chicago and Iowa, the Pekin Road and the Chicago and Paducah.

On March 10, 1880, Hinckley married Amelia Smith, twenty years his junior. The Smiths had migrated from Plainfield, New Jersey, to Loda, Illinois, where the bride's father was a banker. For two years following their marriage the Hinckleys lived at 131 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. In 1882 they moved to 2928 Prairie Avenue, a neighborhood of small houses with two stories and high basements—a strictly middle-class section.³⁸ Across the street from their home rose famous St. Paul's Universalist Church; however, the Hinckleys were strong Baptists. Although Chicago had a number of clubs, some located near their home, the membership lists fail to reveal the name of either Hinckley or his wife. They were living modestly and taking their growing fortunes in stride. Hinckley had a deep interest in his family, and on January 1, 1885, when he again reorganized the Pekin road—as the Chicago & St. Louis Railway—he put three of them on its five-man board.³⁹

In 1875 the *Railroad Gazette* had published a thought-provoking article titled "What Shall Be Done with Our Bankrupt Railroads?" Ten years later Hinckley was still striving for part of the answer. As passenger lines all three of his roads had operated as locals—furnishing a needed service, but little more than bus lines. As freight carriers these roads should have had considerable value. By 1885 some of the larger roads had begun to court Hinckley in their efforts to take over the Pekin by purchase or consolidation. His various reorganizations of that road indicate strongly that he was trying to wring out creditors. He was also, without doubt, trying to buy up some of his stockholders in an effort to whittle down carrying charges and keep the road solvent.⁴⁰

³⁸ The Hinckleys' Prairie Avenue neighbors are listed as a salesman, lawyer, manufacturer, store manager and several clothing store operators.

³⁹ Hinckley's brothers George W. and William S. operated a planing mill at Twenty-second and May streets in Chicago. George's two sons Alfred M. and Walter P. were for a time connected with Hinckley's railroads. By 1880 George was listed as a grain dealer.

⁴⁰ The Chicago & Iowa was part of an inter-line with the Illinois Central and the Burlington for through passenger service between Chicago and Sioux City; while

In 1886 the Santa Fe decided to enter Chicago from Kansas City, and purchased Hinckley's Chicago & St. Louis Railway. But instead of building by way of Peoria, the Santa Fe ran its line through Galesburg, and never did extend Hinckley's road from Pekin to St. Louis as originally planned.⁴¹ Between 1890 and 1893, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing its "Red Express" roll over a Chicago-Peoria-St. Louis inter-line.⁴²

In the meantime Hinckley had been spreading out his operations. From 1878 to 1881 he was president of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and the Milwaukee Cable Railway. In 1887, having disposed of his three Illinois railroads and become a member of the Santa Fe family, he was made president of the St. Louis, Kansas City & Colorado Railroad, a position he retained until 1889 when he became president of the Central Arizona.⁴³ Both were Santa Fe roads.

From 1890 to 1896 Hinckley served as a member of the first board of trustees of the newly-formed University of Chicago. That eleven-man board included such men as Ferdinand W. Peck, Martin E. Ryerson and Herman H. Kohlsaat. Hinckley must have enjoyed such company and an opportunity for fellowship with the brilliant and colorful president of the University, William Rainey Harper. Hinckley was generous in his gifts to the University.

By 1892 the Hinckleys were living in Lake Forest, fashionable North Shore suburb of Chicago. Amid his new surroundings he styled himself a "capitalist." Only once did he

the Pekin was for a time part of an inter-line with the Toledo, Peoria & Western and the Burlington, later the Alton.

⁴¹ In 1886 the Santa Fe had plans to build south from Pekin to Springfield where it would meet the North & South Railroad running to Litchfield, and the Wabash from there to St. Louis.

⁴² On Dec. 4, 1886 the Santa Fe organized the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway, which on Dec. 15 purchased the Chicago & St. Louis, rehabilitating it the following year. The first train to cross the Mississippi on this line between Chicago and Kansas City made the run on Dec. 7, 1887. From 1890 to 1893 the Santa Fe ran a passenger inter-line with the Jacksonville Southeastern Railroad between Chicago, Peoria, Pekin, Jacksonville, Litchfield, and St. Louis. Santa Fe records.

⁴³ Hinckley was president of the Central Arizona from 1889 to 1893 and vice-president in the latter year.

show a renewal of his interest in Illinois railroads: in 1890 when he joined in an application for a charter for a projected road between Chicago and St. Louis—which never materialized. About 1898 they moved to West Brighton, Staten Island, New York. Hinckley had become interested in the Niagara Power & Development Company and the Canadian Power Company and could more conveniently direct his business operations from there.

He died at his New York home on September 6, 1900 of a heart ailment. He was survived by his widow and three sons: Francis E., Percy and Donald. He had lost much of his fortune before his death, yet his railroads remain a monument to his vision, energy, courage, tenacity and capability.

Today the Burlington's diesel-powered streamlined Zephyrs roll west of Aurora over the old right-of-way of the Chicago & Iowa bound for the Twin Cities. The transcontinental trains of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific bound for the Pacific Northwest use the same route. The Santa Fe's silver streamliners sweep southwest from Chicago to Streator over part of the right-of-way of the old Pekin road, and the Banner Blues of the Wabash run south from Chicago over some of the right-of-way of the Chicago & Paducah on their way to St. Louis.

There is another monument to the memory of Francis Edward Hinckley—the town bearing his name in DeKalb County, Illinois, on the Burlington a few miles west of Aurora. In 1878 it possessed considerable promise and claimed to be "the liveliest town on the Chicago & Iowa Railroad."⁴⁴ Today Hinckley has a population of about 800, yet it is a reminder of a great promoter and builder of Illinois railroads.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *The Hinckley Review*, May 31, 1878. The town had a grain elevator, three hotels, a lumber yard, a cheese factory, Methodist and Baptist churches, and a Masonic lodge.

⁴⁵ Additional acknowledgments: Bessie E. Hinckley, Hinsdale; Mrs. Francis E. Hinckley, Jr., Evanston; Dr. Martha Borden Cole, Galesburg; Paul M. Angle, director, Chicago Historical Society; Carlton J. Corliss of the Illinois Central; Donald Ashton of the Burlington; E. H. Gaiennie of the Toledo, Peoria & Western; and A. B. Van Pelt of the Wabash.

THE ADOPTION OF CUMULATIVE VOTING IN ILLINOIS

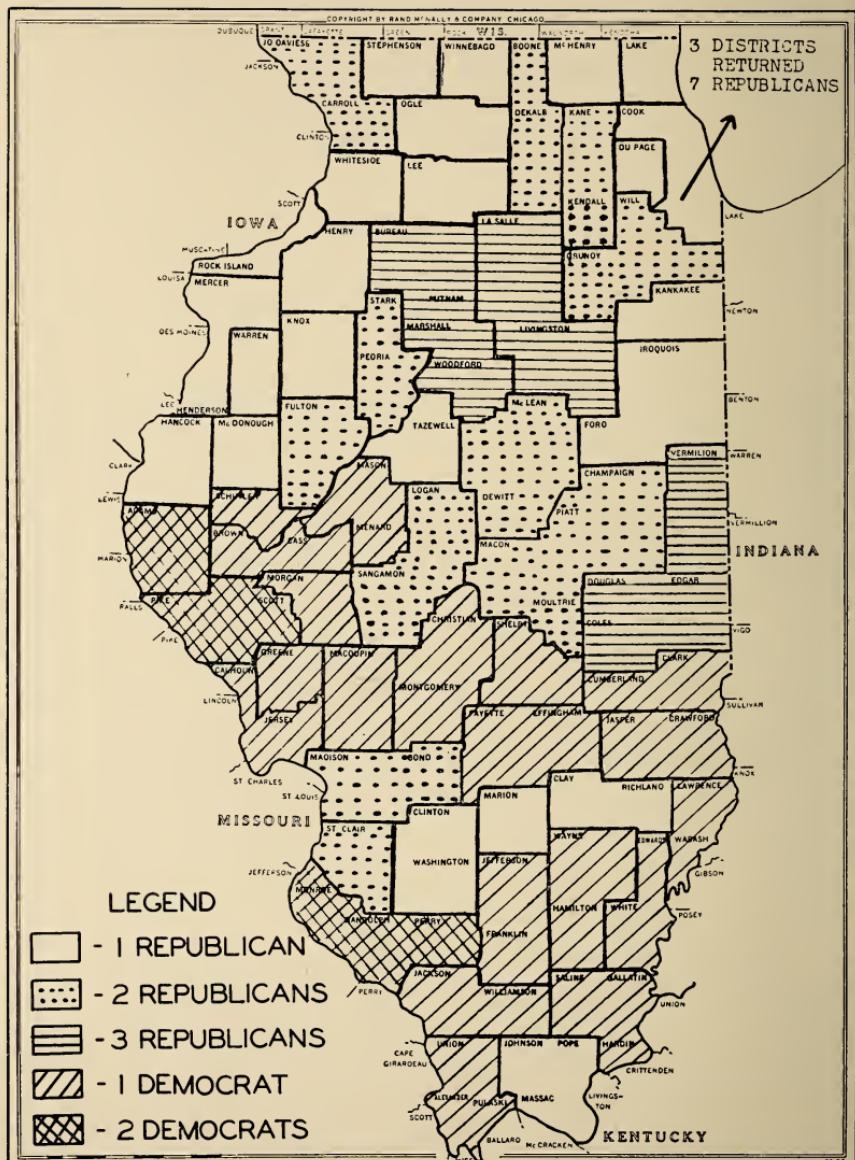
BY GEORGE S. BLAIR

ALTERATION in the method of electing members of the General Assembly was one of the important considerations before the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1869-1870. Many delegates hoped to remedy a situation, under the Constitution of 1848, which had resulted in sectional rather than district representation in the legislature. By 1870 the state was divided roughly into two large sections, with the Republican Party winning most of the senatorial and representative seats from the northern half of the state, and the Democrats stronger in the southern half, electing nearly all of that section's legislators. Some 100,000 Democratic voters living north of Springfield and nearly as many Republicans living south of the capital were thus practically excluded from a voice in electing lawmakers of their own choosing.¹

The map on the next page gives the party alignment in the House of Representatives of the Twenty-fifth General

¹ *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, Convened at the City of Springfield, Tuesday (Monday), December 13, 1869* (Springfield, 1870), I: 562.

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TWENTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Party composition by districts of members of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1867-1868.

Assembly in 1867. The state at that time was apportioned into sixty-one representative districts, with four districts returning three representatives each, 16 districts two each, and 41 districts one each—a total of 85 members. Only eight of the 60 Republicans were from districts south of Springfield, and only five of the 25 Democrats from the northern part of the state.

The large number of unrepresented voters can also be substantiated on the basis of votes cast in the presidential election of 1868. There were 120,061 Democratic votes in districts north of Springfield. The five Democratic representatives came from districts (Adams, Brown-Cass, Mason-Menard and Schuyler counties) in which the Democratic vote for president was 13,146, leaving 106,915 Democrats unrepresented by members of their own party in the Illinois House. Of the 78,737 Republican votes in districts below the state capital, the eight Republican representatives came from districts (Bond-Madison, Clay-Richland, Clinton-Washington, Marion, Johnson-Massac-Pope, and St. Clair counties) in which 22,169 Republican votes were cast, leaving 56,568 Republican voters without spokesmen.²

A second fault with representative districts under the apportionment of 1861 was the inequality of district populations. On the basis of the census of 1870, the districts varied in population from 16,685 in the Fifty-eighth District (Du Page County) to 49,995, the average population for each of the seven representatives from Cook County. In all, six representatives had constituencies of less than 20,000, while ten had over 40,000 each.³

As a third fault, the Republican strength in the House was greater than its comparative strength throughout the state. Of the 350,103 votes cast for congressman-at-large in 1866, 203,045 were Republican and 147,058 Democratic. On this

² John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895), II: 1208-9.

³ For a breakdown of population by counties see *ibid.*, 1137-39.

basis House membership should have been 49 to 36 in the Republicans' favor instead of the actual 60 to 25 margin. The same was true in the 1869 session: Republicans cast 249,912 votes for governor the previous year and Democrats 199,813. Based on this vote, the Republican advantage would have been 48 to 37 instead of their actual majority of 57 to 28.⁴

These were the problems of representation facing the Convention delegates: district rather than sectional representation; proper representation of minorities; proportionate representative districts; and an apportionment which would accurately reflect relative party strengths in the House.

An attempt to modify the organic law of Illinois in 1862 proved unsuccessful, as the voters failed to approve the new constitution. This convention was predominantly composed of Democrats, and its legislative apportionments were admittedly in the interests of that party. The *Chicago Tribune* estimated that this apportionment would have given the Democrats, the minority party, 21 of 33 senators and 60 of 102 representatives.⁵

A resolution calling another constitutional convention was adopted by the General Assembly in 1867 and approved by the people the following year. Delegates were elected in November, 1869, and assembled at Springfield on December 13. The resolution calling the convention contained the limitation "to revise, alter, or amend the Constitution of the State of Illinois," but the delegates assumed the authority to draft a new constitution.

Standing committees were announced on December 20. The Committee on Electoral and Representative Reform, the one of most immediate interest, was a nine-member group with Joseph Medill, editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and one of the most influential men in this assembly, as its chairman. Other members of the committee were Robert P. Hanna of Wayne County, Charles F. Springer of Madison, George R. Wendling

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1212.

⁵ O. M. Dickerson, "The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862," *University of Illinois Studies*, Vol. I, no. 9 (Urbana, March 15, 1905), 431.

of Shelby, Milton Hay of Sangamon, Orville H. Browning of Adams, Alfred M. Craig of Knox, Addison Goodell of Iroquois, and George E. Wait of Henry.⁶

Work for this committee had been created even before its appointment, by the following resolution presented on December 17 by Robert P. Hanna, later a member of the committee:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Legislative Department, hereafter to be appointed, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the Constitution as to provide that the House of Representatives shall consist of one hundred and twenty members. That for the purpose of electing the same, the State be divided into forty representative Districts of contiguous territory, and, as nearly as possible of equal population. That the persons having the highest number of votes be elected from each district. That no elector be allowed to vote for more than two Representatives, to the end that minorities may be represented in the Legislature of the State in proportion to their numbers.⁷

This plan sought minority representation through use of the limited vote. By giving each voter fewer votes than the whole number of representatives to be elected, a fairly strong and disciplined minority would be certain to receive some representation. The only action at that time was to order the printing of the resolution.

A second plan of achieving minority representation was contained in a resolution introduced on January 12, 1870, by Reuben M. Benjamin of McLean County:

Resolved, That the Committee on Electoral Reform be instructed to inquire into the expediency of incorporating into the Constitution, provisions substantially as follows: 1st. Any candidate who shall receive a majority of the votes cast in his district shall be entitled to a certificate of election. 2nd. Any candidate who shall receive less than a majority of the votes cast in his district may, within _____ days after his election, file in the office of the Secretary of State a transfer of the votes cast for him, either collectively to any other candidate, or distributively to any other two candidates, in the State, at his option. *Provided*, that no transfer shall be made to any candidate having received less than one-fifth of the votes cast in his own district. . . .⁸

⁶ *Debates and Proceedings*, I: 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

Under this plan, total membership in the House would not always remain exactly the same, depending on the number of votes cast by minorities at any one election. One legislature might have a few more or a few less members than its predecessor as a result of the full representation achieved through the transfer of votes. This plan also would give representation to all minority groups of any size and discipline. The strong men of minor parties throughout the state could be elected even though they lived in districts in which their party was in a minority, provided they could poll one-fifth of the votes cast in their own district. Again, the only action taken was to refer the resolution to the Committee on Electoral and Representative Reform.

The Committee made its first report to the convention on February 10. Presented by Medill as spokesman for the group, it was in five sections, of which the two most pertinent read:

Sec. 2. Three times the number of inhabitants required for a senatorial ratio, shall constitute a senatorial district, each of which shall choose three senators, and the term of office shall be four years. Three times the number of inhabitants required for a representative ratio, shall constitute a representative district, each of which shall choose three representatives, and the term of office shall be two years. The districts shall be formed of compact territory, bounded by county lines, and contain, as nearly as practicable, an equal number of inhabitants: *Provided*, That no county shall be divided in the formation of representative districts unless it shall be entitled to more than five representatives.

Sec. 5. In all elections of senators or representatives, each qualified voter shall be entitled to as many votes as there are senators or representatives to be elected by the same constituency, and may distribute them (or equal fractions thereof) equally or unequally among the candidates, or concentrate them upon one, at his option, and the candidates highest in vote shall be declared elected.⁹

This report outlined the plan of cumulative voting and was the first recorded mention of the proposal in the convention. The plan itself is particularized by three significant characteristics. First, it retains the district system of representation, but three representatives rather than one are elected

⁹ *Ibid.*, 561.

from each unit. The reason for this is quite apparent: in single-member districts, the majority party alone would win representation; in two-member districts the minority might win half the representation or none, disproportionate in either case; but in the three-member district, it was hoped there would usually be two seats for the majority party and one for the minority. This would give the minority sufficient representation to be heard on all questions affecting its rights or interests, while still maintaining the rule of the majority.

The second characteristic of cumulative voting is multiple voting, with each voter entitled to cast as many votes as there are representatives to be elected. In the exercise of these votes the elector may without restraint cumulate all three votes for a single candidate, give each of two candidates a vote and a half, or cast a single vote for each of three candidates.¹⁰

Third, the aim of cumulative voting is minority representation rather than proportional representation. Members elected would usually be representatives of the two largest parties within a district; where third parties won seats, it would be in most cases in districts where a third party had become locally the largest minority group. Cumulative voting is largely a device for the maintenance of a strong two-party system, and a means of reflecting the relative strength of those two parties in the General Assembly.¹¹

Medill, speaking in support of the committee report, stated that this plan of apportionment and voting was a great improvement upon the previous system: First, it provided for representation of the minority in both houses. Second, the whole body of both major parties, and of other parties which might arise in the future, would be represented. Third, the

¹⁰ Since the decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in 1928 in *Allen v. Fuller* there has been a fourth way in which these three votes may be cast: two votes for one candidate and one for another candidate. *Reports of the Supreme Court of Illinois*, Vol. 332, pp. 313-14.

¹¹ There have been eleven so-called third parties represented in the Illinois House since the adoption and use of cumulative voting: Farmers' Alliance, Greenback, Independent, Independent Democrat, Independent Republican, Labor, Peoples, Progressive, Prohibition, Public Ownership and Socialist.

elector was free and unrestrained in the matter of choosing legislators to represent him. And fourth, the new system would in no way impair or jeopardize the rule of the stronger party or the accepted rule of the majority.¹²

The records of the convention indicate to some extent public reaction to this plan. Support was given in the form of a memorial from the Minority Representation Society of Chicago praising the progress of the plan to date;¹³ but on the following day, February 17, William C. Goodhue of Will County presented a petition from citizens of his county protesting against the scheme and asking the Will County delegates to vote against it.¹⁴

Convention records do not give evidence of additional opposition, though it seems logical to assume that the plan did encounter further criticism. On May 6, when the committee's recommendations were to be considered, Medill offered a substitute for the original report, recommending that the plan be submitted separately to the people rather than incorporated directly into the constitution. The text of the substitute was as follows:

Sec. ——. The house of representatives shall consist of three times the number of members of the senate, and the term of office shall be two years. Three representatives shall be elected in each senatorial district at the general election in the year A.D. 1872, and every two years thereafter.

Sec. ——. In all elections of representatives aforesaid, each qualified voter may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected, or may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates as he shall see fit; and the candidates highest in votes shall be declared elected.¹⁵

This report differed substantially from the original committee report. It restricted the experiment of cumulative voting to one instead of both houses; the complex system of fractional representation was done away with by providing

¹² *Debates and Proceedings*, I: 561-63.

¹³ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois. Convened at Springfield, December 13, 1869*, (Springfield, 1870), 427.

¹⁴ *Debates and Proceedings*, I: 703.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II: 1726.

for the reapportionment of the state every ten years; the senatorial and representative districts coincided in area, with one senator and three representatives elected from each district; and the system of fractional distribution of votes was eliminated by making it possible for the elector to divide or cumulate his votes.¹⁶ Medill made an eloquent appeal to the convention to support the minority representation plan:

There are thousands of young men and advanced minds in this State who think more highly of this proposition than of anything else we will have to offer them. . . . The disfranchised and downtrodden minorities will everywhere rally to its support, and secure to the new Constitution for its sake a triumphant ratification. This great measure of reform will carry out pure democratic equality and equal rights for all men in the legislative halls; secure the equal representation of every citizen, the minority with the majority, man for man; allay partisan strife, reform legislative corruption, purify the elective system, inspire good and quiet citizens to attend the polls, enable virtuous citizens to elect pure and able representatives. . . .¹⁷

Other delegates supported the committee report. There was some opposition, as evidenced by George E. Wait just before the vote: "I desire to record my vote against any proposition giving minorities power to beat majorities, when the majorities all vote."¹⁸ But the official vote resulted in large majorities for the plan—49 for the first section, 12 against, 22 absent or not voting; 47 for the second section, 15 against, 21 absent or not voting.¹⁹

The report was then referred to the Committee on Revision and Adjustment for final drafting. On May 12 this committee submitted its final text, providing for separate submission to the voters:

Sec. 27. The house of representatives shall consist of three times the number of the members of the senate, and the term of office shall be two years. Three representatives shall be elected in each senatorial district, at the general election in the year A.D. 1872, and every two years thereafter. In all elections of representatives aforesaid, each qualified voter may cast as

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1727.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1729.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected, or may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates, as he shall see fit; and the candidates highest in votes shall be declared elected.²⁰

The convention approved the revision that same day, and completed its deliberations and adjourned the following day.

The new constitution was submitted to the voters on Saturday, July 2, 1870. Out of nearly 170,000 votes cast, 134,227 were in favor of the constitution, with only 35,443 against. Each of the eight propositions separately submitted was also approved; the minority representation section received the smallest margin of victory—99,022 to 70,080, a margin of only 28,942. Voters of forty counties gave majorities against this proposal and the contest was very close in several others, but Cook County's favorable majority of 17,895 assured its approval.²¹

Four days after the election the *Illinois State Journal*, in an editorial review of the new constitution, said:

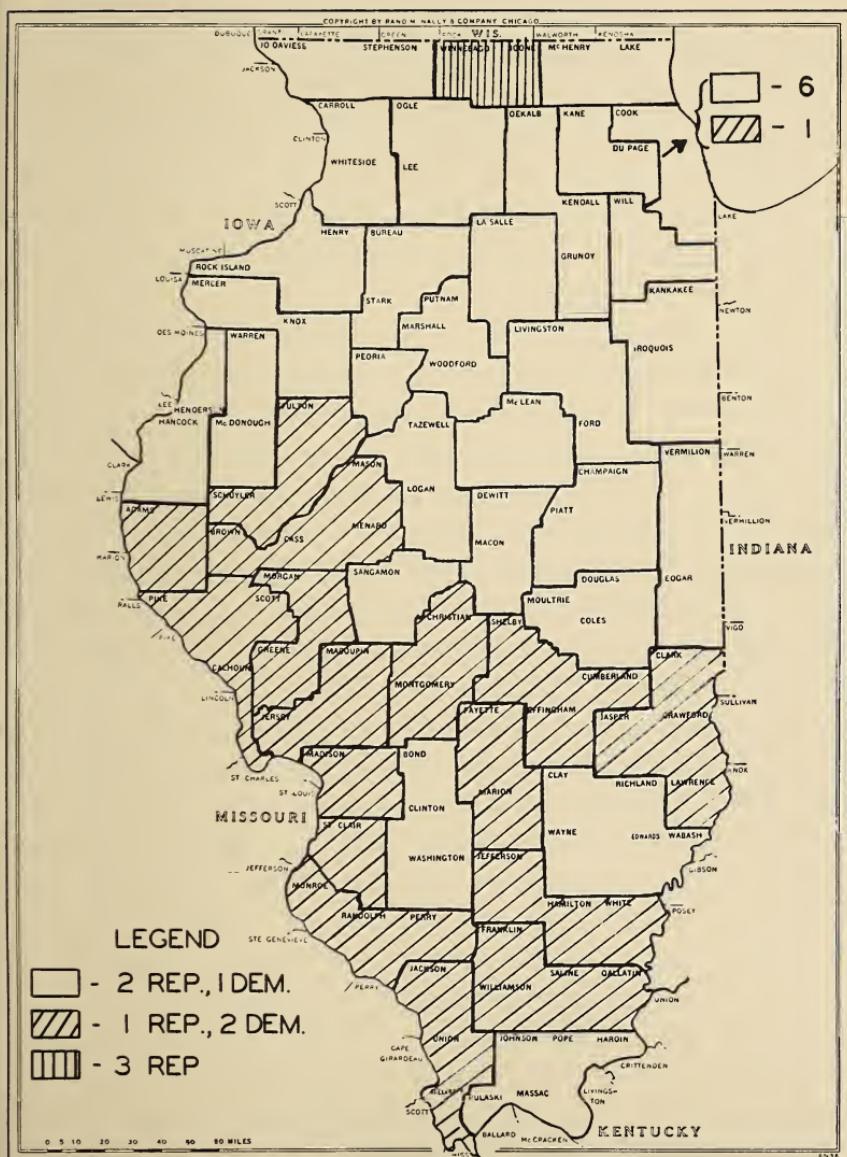
The vote against minority representation will probably sum up stronger than that against any other of the separate sections. In our Monday's issue we indicated a few of the reasons why the section would be looked upon with hesitation and suspicion. However, it is doubtless true that a sufficient number of people have voted in favor of trying the experiment to carry it, and that our State will be the first to inaugurate a new system of government by which minorities, instead of being entirely disfranchised, will hereafter have a representation according to the strength which they are able to muster. This section, if adopted, does not take effect until the election of the Legislature of 1872.²²

The results of the election of 1872 reflect the immediate effect of the adoption of cumulative voting. The second map gives the party makeup by districts of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly, the first elected under the new system. In this House there were 86 Republicans and 67 Democrats. Only one of the 51 districts (Winnebago and Boone counties) returned three representatives of

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1849.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1894-95.

²² *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), July 6, 1870.



TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Party composition by districts of members of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1873-1874.

the same party; 33 elected two Republicans and one Democrat, and 17 two Democrats and one Republican. The Democratic representation from the north half of the state had increased from five (5.9 per cent) in 1867 to thirty-six (23.5 per cent) in 1873; similarly the Republicans had increased their representation from the south half from eight (9.4 per cent) to twenty-three (15 per cent).

The party alignments in the House reflected quite accurately the relative strength of the two parties throughout the state. In 1872 Republican Richard J. Oglesby received 237,774 votes for governor, with 197,084 for Democrat Gustave Koerner.²³ On the basis of that vote, the Republicans would have had an 84-69 majority in the House—only two different from the actual 86-67 split. The disproportionate representation of the Republicans in the House, compared to the statewide popular vote, had decreased from 122 per cent in 1867 to only 103 per cent in 1873.

The reapportionment of the state had resulted in fifty-one districts of fairly equal population—ranging from the Forty-third (Fayette and Marion counties) with 40,260 to the Twenty-first (Rock Island and Henry counties) with 65,289. However, most of the districts had populations of 45,000 to 55,000.²⁴

Thus the system of cumulative voting, on the basis of the results of the first election in which it was used, seemed to be the answer to the representation problems under the old Constitution of 1848. Districts rather than sections were represented; the minority party was represented in 50 of the 51 districts; statewide party strengths were more accurately reflected in the House; and the districts were more evenly apportioned as to population. These advantages were accompanied by none of the disastrous results prophesied by the opponents of the measure.

²³ Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, II: 1212.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1137-39, 1161.

THEY SAW THE EARLY MIDWEST

A Bibliography of Travel Narratives, 1673-1850

BY ROBERT R. HUBACH

THE following bibliography is the third and final one in a series under this title listing travel narratives, including diaries and journals, in Midwestern historical publications. The first, covering narratives of the eastern Midwest, appeared in the Autumn, 1953 issue of this *Journal*; the second, listing narratives of the trans-Mississippi Midwest, appeared in the July, 1954 number of *The Iowa Journal of History*. The present bibliography lists travel narratives in early or less well-known historical publications of the eastern Midwest—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Many of the accounts below were written by people who had no professional interest in authorship; indeed, most of them wrote merely to leave a tangible record for relatives or friends, and had no thought that their works would be published. The first white men to visit the Midwest—trappers, explorers and Jesuit priests—saw a primitive wilderness. Even the later settlers and missionaries encountered a vast and lonely land of rivers, lakes and prairies inhabited largely by Indians.

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No permanent settlement, for instance, was made at Cincinnati, one of the oldest Midwestern cities, until 1788. The three main routes of entry taken by the narrators were down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, overland across Ohio, and from Buffalo up the Great Lakes. The early settlers were seldom adversely critical of the mores or the difficult living conditions of the frontier. The West to them was a realm of promise, offering far greater opportunities than the refinements of the Eastern seaboard or of Europe. Trappers, explorers, priests, ministers, missionaries to the savages, settlers, victims of Indian captivities, native and foreign tourists, and visiting authors—people, good and bad, of varied dispositions and types—visited the early Midwest and left their impressions. Historians and writers of historical fiction have used and will continue to use these works as source material for books.

The nineteen regional historical publications of the five states mentioned above which were checked in compiling the present bibliography are:

Burton Historical Collection Leaflets [Detroit]
Burton Historical Records
Firelands Pioneer [Norwalk, Ohio]
Illinois Historical Collections [Illinois State Historical Library]
Illinois State Historical Society, Transactions
Indiana Historical Collections [Indianapolis]
Indiana Historical Society Publications
Inland Seas [Cleveland]
Marietta College Historical Collections [Marietta, Ohio]
Mid-America [Chicago]
Michigan Historical (or Pioneer) Collections [Lansing]
Northwest Ohio Quarterly [Toledo]
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Bulletin [Cincinnati]
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Quarterly Publication
Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly [Columbus]
Western Reserve Historical Society Publications [Cleveland]
Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts
Wisconsin Historical Society Collections [Madison]
Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings

The *Michigan Historical Collections* contain a much larger

number of travel narratives, even though many are brief and unimportant, than any other of these publications. The *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections* rank second. Ohio has issued the largest number of different historical magazines, and Illinois has reprinted the most narratives by early explorers like La Salle and Tonty.

Most of the more than two hundred and thirty narratives in the following list were written by Americans, but five other nationalities are represented, indicated by abbreviations in parentheses after the facts of publication—Br[itish], Fr[ench], Fr[ench] Can[adian], Ger[man] and Sw[iss]. The accounts are arranged chronologically, from 1673 to 1850, with narratives covering more than one year grouped under the first date.

1673 Father Claudius Dablon. "Of the First Voyage Made by Father Marquette toward New Mexico, and How the Design Was Conceived." *Illinois Historical Collections*, I (1903), 8-40. (Fr.)
— "Marquette's Journal of His First Visit to the Mississippi." *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXI (1894), 467-88. (Fr.)
1674 "Marquette's Last Journal." *Ibid.*, 488-94. (Fr.)
1678 "Henry de Tonty's Memoir of 1693." *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I (1903), 128-64. (Fr.)
1679 "Hennepin's Narrative from His 'La Louisiane' of 1683." *Ibid.*, 46-105. (Fr.)
1680 "La Salle on the Illinois Country." *Ibid.*, XXIII (1934), 1-16.
1682 Jacques de La Metairie. "Of the Taking Possession of Louisiana, at the Mouth of the Mississippi, by the Sieur de la Salle, on the 9th of April, 1682." *Ibid.*, I (1903), 106-13. (Fr.)
1684 "Memoir of the Sieur de la Salle Reporting to Monsieur [sic] de Seignelay the Discoveries Made by Him Under the Order of His Majesty." *Ibid.*, 115-25. (Fr.)
1726 "Green Bay in 1726." *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, I (1903, reprint), 21-23. (Fr.)
1728 "Narrative of de Boucherville; Captivity Among the Kickapoo; Hostility to the Foxes." *Ibid.*, XVII (1906), 36-57. (Fr.)
1743 "Selections from the Diary and Gazette of Father Pierre Potier, S. J. (1708-1781)." *Mid-America*, XVIII (July, 1936), 199-202. (Fr.)
1744 Augustin Grignon. "Seventy-two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, III (1857), 197-295. (Fr.)

1749 "Céloron's Expedition Down the Ohio." *Ibid.*, XVIII (1908), 35-58. (Fr.)

1756 "Journal of Peter Pond." *Ibid.*, 314-54.

1760 "Thompson Maxwell's Narrative—1760-1763." *Ibid.*, XI (1888), 213-17.

1761 "Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal." *Ibid.*, I (1903 reprint), 24-48.

1765 "George Croghan's Journals, February 28, 1765—October 8, 1765." *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, XI (1916), 1-64.

1766 George Morgan. "Voyage Down the Mississippi, November 21, 1766—December 18, 1766." *Ibid.*, 438-47.

1767 "Morgan's Journal, September 30, 1767—November 1, 1767." *Ibid.*, XVI (1921), 67-71.

— John Porteous. "From Fort Niagara to Mackinac in 1767." *Inland Seas*, II (Apr., 1946), 86-97. (Br.)

1778 "George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781." *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII (1912), 114-54, 164-74, 208-302.

1779 "Journal of Joseph Bowman." *Ibid.*, 155-64.

— "Personal Narrative of William Lytle." *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, I (Jan.-Mar., 1906), 3-30.

1781 Alexander Harrow. "Visits to the Shipyard." *Burton Historical Collection Leaflets*, II (Jan., 1924), 26-29.

1782 "Journal of Michael Walters, a Member of the Expedition Against Sandusky in the Year 1782." *Western Reserve Historical Society Publications*, IV (1899), 177-88.

1783 Jean Baptiste Perrault. "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of Northern America Leaving Montreal the 28th May, 1783 (to 1820)." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVII (1909-1910), 508-619. (Fr.)

1784 Daniel Robertson. "Trip from Michilimackinac to Lake Superior." *Ibid.*, IX (1886), 643-46.

1786 John Matthews. "A Journal &c." *Marietta College Historical Collections*, III (1918), 187-214.

1787 James McKay. "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal and Others." Milo M. Quaife, ed. *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings ... 1915* (1916), 186-210.

1788 "Narrative of the Capture of William Biggs by the Kickapoo Indians in 1788." *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1902*, VII (1902), 202-15.

1789 Henry Hay. "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier." M. M. Quaife, ed. *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1914* (1915), 208-61. Reprinted in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, VII (1921), 303-61.

1790 "Diary of Major William Stanley." *Quar. Pub. Hist. and Phil. Soc., Ohio*, XIV (Apr.-July, 1919), 19-32.

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1794 "From Greene Ville to Fallen Timbers. A Journal of the Wayne Campaign. July 28—September 14, 1794." *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, XVI (1952), 237-326.

— "Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve." Beverley W. Bond, Jr., ed. *Quar. Pub. Hist. and Phil. Soc., Ohio*, XVII (Jan.-June, 1922), 1-71. Printed in part in *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1903, VIII (1904), 62-64.

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1796 "Journal of Peter Audrain, Esq." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VIII (1886), 444-47.

— "Victor Collot, A Journey in North America." *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, XIII (1909), 269-98. (Fr.)

— Silas Farmer. "Revolutionary Days, or Detroit in 1796." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX (1901), 190-200.

— David Jones. "Extracts from a Manuscript Journal." *Ibid.*, VIII (1886), 392-95.

— "Journals of Seth Pease to and from Connecticut, 1796-98." *Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract No. 94*, (1914), 27-124.

1800 "Diary of the Journey of Br. and Sr. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach from Bethlehem to Goshen on the Muskingum. October 15 to November 18, 1800." *Ind. Hist. Colls.*, XXIII (1938), 39-52.

— "Personal Narrative of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IX (1882), 137-206.

1801 "Diary of the Journey of Br. and Sr. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach from Goshen on the Muskingum to White River, March 24 to May 25, 1801." *Ind. Hist. Colls.*, XXIII (1938), 67-101.

1802 David Bacon. "An Unsuccessful Mission to the Shawanees, 1802." *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, XVI (Jan., 1944), 22-40.

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1803 Michel Curot. "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1803-04." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XX (1911), 396-471. (Fr.)

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- "Extracts from the Diary of Br. and Sr. Kluge and Br. Abr. Luckenbach from the White River to Bethlehem from September 16, to November 12, 1806." *Ind. Hist. Colls.*, XXIII (1938), 455-65.
- "Personal Narrative of Col. John Shaw, of Marquette County, Wisconsin." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II (1856), 197-232.
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- Adam Walker. "A Journal of Two Campaigns of the Fourth Regiment of U. S. Infantry. . ." *Ind. Hist. Colls.*, VII (1922), 693-710.
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- C. B. Stebbins. "Father Winter and His Family." *Ibid.*, VIII (1886), 178-94.
- 1813 "Diary of Capt. James Bonner." *Western Reserve Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, II (Oct., 1879), 103-4.
- 1814 "Capt. T. G. Anderson's Journal, 1814." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IX (1882), 207-61.
- "G. H. Escape from Five Pottawattomie Indians in 1814." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII (1888), 436-55.
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1821 Albert G. Ellis. "Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin." *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1876), 207-68.

— "Memoirs of William Forster." Benjamin Seebohn, ed. *Ind. Hist. Colls.*, III (1916), 256-68.

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— "A Home in the Woods. Oliver Johnson's Reminiscences of Early Marion County." Related by Howard Johnson. *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, XVI (1951), 137-229.

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LINCOLN AND THE DIVISION OF SANGAMON COUNTY

BY HARRY E. PRATT

HERE is a tradition that Abraham Lincoln favored the erection of a new county in the northwest part of Sangamon County in 1832, with New Salem as the county seat. Only nine years had elapsed since the first settlers came into the area, and now the trip to Springfield the county seat seemed too long a journey to attend court or to buy a new "eighty" at the land office. County division was not the important issue to Lincoln. In his address to the voters on March 9, 1832 he stressed the need for opening the Sangamon River to boats that would take the farmers' surplus to market. He received 277 of the 300 votes cast in his Clary's Grove precinct, but the rest of the county was not so anxious to send him to the legislature.

Sangamon County was approximately sixty-five miles long and fifty-five miles wide, covering in central Illinois an area more than twice that of Rhode Island. Its population was then, and throughout the 1830's, largely in the central part of the county. The tedious journey of some twenty to thirty miles to Springfield, for some residents, caused a feeling of dissatisfaction—a feeling nurtured by land speculators and town promoters.

A series of satirical articles from the "Lost Townships" appeared in the *Sangamo Journal* in the 1830's. In one dated September 6, 1838 the writer claimed to have visited every town and crossroads in Sangamon, recording the arguments of

the natives why their particular town merited the county seat of a new county.¹ His description of Sand Ridge Prairie seven miles north of New Salem where Ann Rutledge died, sets forth its many claims to be a county seat of a new county:

I left Huron, and after an hour's ride found myself in SAND RIDGE PRAIRIE. And here, too, I found the people wanted a division. "The east line," said my informant, "ought to go near Rock Creek—that would suit our views. We are opposed to Petersburgh and Huron, Sugar Grove and New Market. We want no unnatural divisions. We want a fair division—a fair division would bring the centre just about here—and what a fine town site that would be!" he continued, pointing to a beautiful rolling prairie a little south—"See that hill! what a beautiful spot for a court house square, and what beautiful spots for dwellings all around it! I was extremely fortunate in entering that piece of land. We haven't a very great population here at present, but a county town will soon bring settlers around it."

In 1830 the farmers in the northwest part of Sangamon met at New Salem and expressed their desire for a new county, but their petition to the General Assembly went unheeded.² A second petition to erect a new county in the northwest part of Sangamon, with 195 signatures, was presented to the legislature in the winter of 1832. Lincoln's friends Jack Armstrong, William F. Berry, Jack Kelso, James Pantier, Charles Maltby, James Rutledge and Mentor Graham were among the signers, but his name was not on the petition.³ No action was taken by the General Assembly on this, or on the petition presented by the citizens living north of the Sangamon River to be allowed to join Fulton County, to which John T. Stuart presented the remonstrance of the voters opposed.⁴

¹ *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], Sept. 15, 1838.

² Letter of Dr. John Allen, Springfield, *Sangamo Journal*, July 14, 1838. New Salem, Sangamo Town and Springfield were the only towns in Sangamon County in 1830 according to the New Salem physician, although Salisbury had been surveyed in 1826.

³ 1832-1833 General Assembly, Miscellaneous Petitions.

⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1832-1833, p. 347.

Division of Sangamon was not an important issue in Lincoln's election to the legislature in August, 1834. The town-building craze was to come in the year following, and division of the county was the all-important issue in the elections of 1836 and 1838. It was to become Lincoln's most important task in the session of 1838-1839. In his first legislative session (1834-1835) he presented a petition of "sundry citizens of the counties of Sangamon, Morgan and Tazewell, praying the organization of a new county out of said counties," which was, on his motion, referred to the Committee on Petitions. James T. Cunningham of Coles, from the committee, reported adversely to the prayer of the petitioners.

In the August, 1836 election Lincoln was in somewhat of a dilemma. If he opposed division of Sangamon too strongly he might defeat himself for re-election to the General Assembly. If he favored division too strongly it would take precedence over the major objective—removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. To win this objective was going to take the combined efforts of Sangamon's seven house members and two senators. The election resulted favorably and produced a solid delegation in the "Long Nine."

Sangamon County increased in population from 12,960 in 1830 to 17,573 in 1835, making it the most populous in the state. In 1835 John Taylor, land speculator and receiver of the Springfield land office, purchased the site of Petersburg on the Sangamon River, twenty miles northwest of Springfield. Petersburg, founded in 1832, had been overshadowed by New Salem, two miles up the river, but through the efforts of Taylor, John Bennett, and Hezekiah King of St. Louis, the town forged ahead and drew from New Salem its leading citizens. Lincoln was employed in the spring of 1836 to survey Bennett's addition to the town.

Taylor's forces circulated petitions in the area around Petersburg in the fall of 1836 asking for a new county with Petersburg as the county seat. Taylor was careful that the

petitions were not circulated too near Springfield. On presentation to the House they were referred to the Committee on Petitions. Stephen A. Douglas reported from the committee a bill for the new county. This marked the beginning of the two-year fight to divide Sangamon County. Springfield could not afford to let the desires of a town promoter interfere with its plan to secure the state capital from Vandalia. If the county delegation and its friends split over the erection of a new county, the bill to remove the capital would be lost. Reduction of the number of its "Long Nine" members would weaken the county when all its strength was most needed.

Robert Stuart of Tazewell presented the report of the minority of the Committee on Petitions. This report, written in consultation with if not by Lincoln, denied that the petitions contained the signatures of a majority of the legal voters of Sangamon as required by law. In addition, the petition called for a division of Sangamon and Morgan counties, but the bill as reported by Douglas provided for a new county to be erected entirely from Sangamon. The minority report also cited that proof was not presented of a month's notice of the petition in the newspapers, and further that there were 1,200 signers to a remonstrance against the new county.

Lincoln moved that the minority report be spread upon the journal of the House in order that his constituents might see it.⁵ To this Usher F. Linder of Coles objected on the ground that it was a needless printing expense. There were other ways by which the gentleman from Sangamon could get the report among his constituents. Lincoln replied that he claimed the right to know what was due to his constituents as much as any gentleman, and especially as much as one who was not their representative. He had made the motion to spread the report on the journal because he thought it due to his constituents, and no more than a common act of courtesy from the House to comply. He hoped that all he had said would go to his con-

⁵ *Illinois State Register* [Vandalia], Jan. 12, 1837; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 6, 1837.

stituents, and that he considered it uncourteous, and a departure from the rules of etiquette for the gentleman from Coles to meddle in the matter at all. If the House chose to go by the views of the member from Coles he would be content. Linder then spoke a second time in the sarcastic vein, of which he was a master, again laboring on the unnecessary expense of printing minority reports. Lincoln replied that he did not think the small expense to the State which the printing of the report would incur was the whole object of the gentleman in opposing his motion. The intention was to affect Lincoln's constituents. On the vote, Lincoln's motion was lost: ayes 21, nays 44.

By agreement the bill for the new county carried a provision that the whole question should be submitted to a vote of the people of Sangamon. Linder's motion to strike out this section brought John J. Hardin of Morgan to the floor, and when the proposal was lost Linder suggested a second amendment submitting the question of the new county only to the voters residing within its boundaries.⁶ This too was voted down.

To prevent Linder from making another speech, which would only make party feeling stronger and create animosity to Sangamon, Lincoln moved the bill be referred to a select committee. The resolution adopted, he was made chairman of the committee, and on reporting the bill the following day he said that the bill was one of compromise. He was willing to take the bill because, before any division of Sangamon could take place, the people could themselves decide. He would sustain the bill as it stood; the new county would be too small if lessened, and he was opposed to offering to the people a territory too small for their acceptance.⁷

Marshall was the name proposed for the new county, but this was changed on the floor of the House to Van Buren, and

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1836.

⁷ *Ill. State Reg.*, Jan. 12, 1837.

under this name the bill passed the House. Lincoln realized there was a serious demand for a new county in the northwest part of Sangamon where he resided, but he could be reasonably certain that if the bill did pass the Senate it would be voted down in the county. Discussion in the House brought out the fact that signatures on a road petition had been attached to the petition for a new county, and this unfair dealing was brought to the attention of the Senate, where it was denounced by Archer G. Herndon of Sangamon. This became the major factor in the Senate's refusal to adopt the bill.⁸

The county fight was not over. News came from Springfield that petitions to cut three new counties off from Sangamon were being circulated. This move of a few speculators in Mt. Pulaski in the northeast and Allenton in the southeast to combine with the strong sentiment in the northwest broke across party lines in Springfield. A mass meeting in late January, 1837, appointed a committee of three Whigs and three Democrats to present a remonstrance to the legislature. Leaders of the committee were Stephen T. Logan, Whig, and George Forquer and Samuel H. Treat, Democrats.⁹

The remonstrance was signed by 2,300 citizens of Sangamon County in a few days and dispatched to Vandalia. When the petition for dividing the county into four equal parts was presented it was referred, on Lincoln's motion, to a select committee of five, of which he was chairman and Douglas a member. When the committee reported back that the signatures on the remonstrance exceeded those on the petition, the committee was discharged on Douglas' motion.¹⁰

Undaunted by their failure, a large delegation from Petersburg again went to Vandalia in the summer of 1837 to attend the special session of the General Assembly.¹¹ Lincoln pre-

⁸ *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 4, 1837.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1837.

¹¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Special Session, 1837, pp. 61, 81, 113, 121.

sented a petition praying the establishment of a new county in the northwest part of Sangamon, which, on his motion was referred to the Committee on Petitions. The bill, when reported, written by Douglas, was similar to that of the previous session. A barrage of amendments was proposed on the floor, Lincoln taking no part, though he was obviously opposed to the bill. Before a vote could be taken on the amendments the bill was referred to a select committee of John Dawson, Robert L. Wilson and Andrew McCormick, all of Sangamon. They reported that there were only 400 signers to the petition and 2,213 names on the remonstrance, whereupon the bill was refused a third reading.¹²

Division of the county was the chief topic of discussion in Sangamon in 1838. Meetings without number were held, town fought town, small-fry politicians saw a chance of election to the legislature on the issue, and combinations of various geographic areas to achieve a division were numerous. Typical of these meetings was that held at Petersburg, March 17, 1838. Amberry A. Rankin of Athens presided and Thomas J. Nance of Rock Creek served as secretary. The group resolved that the county was too large, but that it was not expedient for the meeting to designate boundaries. Seven delegates representing six communities on the west side of the Sangamon River were appointed to meet with those of three areas on the east side. The western delegates were John Bennett, Petersburg; Dr. John Allen, New Salem; Elihu Bone, Rock Creek; Samuel Berry, Sand Ridge; Hiram Penny, Richland; James Goldsby, Rock Creek; and Dr. Francis Regnier, Clary's Grove. The eastern delegates were Harry Riggan, Indian Creek; Josiah B. Smith, Irish Grove; George Blain, William Engle and John Wright, Sugar Grove.¹³

Animosity against the "Whig Junto" in Springfield, of which Lincoln was a leader, on the county question was the

¹² *Sangamo Journal*, July 15, 1837.

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1838.

theme of a letter of Thomas J. Nance, a schoolteacher living four miles south of New Salem.¹⁴ To John Taylor at Springfield Nance wrote:

I must say that while the spirit of intolerance and the hand of injustice continue to mark the actions of the dominant party of your town I cannot feel as I would like to feel for the welfare of our common county town....Most of our citizens are becoming acquainted with the officious meddling of a few men...this disposition to misrepresent all our reasonable askings will have one good effect—this is to convince us that we must unite to repel their dictating edicts.

Nance became a Democratic candidate for the legislature favoring the county division, but failed of election by forty-three votes on August 6, 1838.

John Taylor had invested heavily in Petersburg and was determined to make the town grow. He promised 150 lots to aid in the erection of a college, and urged Gideon B. Perry, president of Canton College, to remove to Petersburg and build the institution. A charter could be easily secured and "prospects for a new county is brightening every day. I am satisfied we shall have no trouble about it now."¹⁵

Athens was the scene of the first meeting in 1838 on the county question. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the various projected divisions of Sangamon and expressing confidence in, and entrusting the town's interests to the "Long Nine."¹⁶

It was known to Lincoln and the other members of the "Junto" in Springfield in April, that a deal had been made by the Democratic leaders in Petersburg, Mt. Pulaski and Allenton to divide the county into four equal squares, with the

¹⁴ Thomas J. Nance to John Taylor, Rock Creek, Jan. 20, 1838. Original in Receiver's correspondence, Ill. State Auditor's files. Cited hereafter as Receiver's correspondence.

¹⁵ John Taylor to Gideon B. Perry, Springfield, Feb. 19, 1838. Original in Receiver's correspondence.

¹⁶ *Sangamo Journal*, March 31, 1838.

county seats of the three new counties to be in these towns.¹⁷

Knowledge of this deal provoked the lot owners and speculators in Postville (now Lincoln), Huron, New Salem, Athens and Edinburg. There was evidence in the spring of 1838 of a general feeling among the farmers that some division should be made as a matter of convenience, but there was no agreement on the boundaries of the new counties. Resolutions passed at meetings of the farmers expressed their determination to support only legislative candidates who favored division, and their desire to be rid of the dominance of the Whig Junto in Springfield, now led by Lincoln, Logan and Edward D. Baker.¹⁸

A long letter by the highly respected New Salem physician, John Allen, detailing the history of the attempts to divide Sangamon, was published on July 14, 1838 in the *Sangamo Journal*. It helped to clarify the growing controversy. In closing he wrote:

We have, fellow citizens,...some claim upon you [Springfield] in favor of our new counties. It consists in a promise made by many individuals that after the seat of [the State] government was established at Springfield, you would be willing to give us our new counties; this desirable object being accomplished, we now ask the fulfillment of the promise.

Three weeks later in the legislative elections six Whigs and one Democrat, John Calhoun, were elected. Lincoln led the field with 1803 votes, getting, as did the other Whigs, more than half of his votes in Springfield. His old friends at New Salem gave him but thirty-one votes. However, the other five Whigs received together only 50 votes, whereas Calhoun, Francis Regnier, Thomas J. Nance and the four other Democrats received from 95 to 107 apiece. In Petersburg, to which many of his old New Salem friends had removed, Lincoln re-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1838; Hugh Armstrong to John Taylor, Petersburg, April 2, 1838. Original in Receiver's correspondence.

¹⁸ *Sangamo Journal*, April 28, 1838.

ceived only 55 votes, about one-fourth the number given to the Democratic candidates. Stephen A. Douglas, running for Congress, got 81 votes to 39 for John T. Stuart, Whig and law partner of Lincoln. In the other proposed county seat towns, Lincoln received but six votes in Mt. Pulaski, and no Whig received a single vote in Allenton.

The county question almost decided the congressional election. In 1836 William L. May had received in the Petersburg and New Salem precincts only three more votes than Stuart, the Whig candidate; in 1838 Douglas, the Democrat who favored the division of the county, beat Stuart by 150 votes. Nineteen more votes would have elected Douglas to the Twenty-sixth Congress.

Two conclusions could be drawn from this first and almost unanimous victory of the Whigs: there was a strong desire in the county for division, and Springfield did not favor the division of Sangamon into four equal squares, which would place the town in a corner of one square. Three of the six Whigs elected, Lincoln, Ninian W. Edwards and Baker, were Springfield residents and could be expected to look after the interests of their town. A remonstrance was drawn up against the division into "four equal or very nearly equal parts," and requesting the legislature to "make such just and reasonable division of said county, so that no line will come nearer than twelve miles of the town of Springfield." The remonstrance was signed by 1,700 Whigs and Democrats, including Treat, Simeon Francis, Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., and John D. Urquhart, law partner of Douglas.¹⁹

Petitions for the equal division of Sangamon into four counties were not circulated in Springfield until after the legislature had convened at Vandalia, December 3, 1838. With the leaders against the movement sitting in the legislature seventy-five miles away, it was expected that unimpeded progress could be made in Springfield. In their anxiety, James

¹⁹ 1838-1839 Gen. Assembly, Misc. Petitions.

Adams, probate judge and a henchman of John Taylor, secured one of the sheets containing the printed remonstrance and wrote on it the names of three free Negroes. His purpose was to have the names exposed on the floor of the House and thus suggest that the signatures on the remonstrance against four equal counties were secured by fraud. Lincoln was informed of the trick, and denounced it on the floor of the House when he presented the remonstrance.²⁰

Lincoln had secured a place on the Committee on Counties at the opening of the 1838-1839 session of the legislature, where he could watch the progress of the new county bill which he had drawn up. His bill was designed to create three new counties out of Sangamon,²¹ but at the same time not do an injustice to Springfield. He reported his bill to the House on January 16, 1839. After some discussion it was referred, on Calhoun's motion, to a select committee of which Calhoun became the chairman and Lincoln a member. Two days later the bill was reported back with several amendments, all but one of which were in Lincoln's handwriting. In the debate that followed Lincoln explained the injustice of dividing Sangamon into four equal counties. To this Calhoun replied, and then Edwards and Mark Aldrich of Hancock took up the debate.²²

The amendments adopted did not materially alter the boundaries of Lincoln's original bill, and it passed the House and Senate without a record vote, with the new counties being named Menard, Logan and Dane. Though the boundary line to the northwest at one point was only eight miles from Springfield, Lincoln's bill left in Sangamon a half dozen townships to the east of Springfield that would have been cut off in the proposal to divide into four equal parts. Sangamon was left with most of the population, being allowed five members in

²⁰ *Ibid.*; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 26, 1839.

²¹ The original bill in Lincoln's handwriting is in the Archives Division of the Ill. State Library.

²² *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 2, 1839.

the House to one for Menard, while Logan and Dane were to share one House member, and the four counties together were given two senators.²³ The *Sangamo Journal* noted that "Old Sangamon has given her three daughters a very genteel 'setting out'—and we believe, that hereafter she will be as proud of them as she is justly of herself."²⁴

To clarify the provisions in his bill in regard to the term of office of officials elected in the new counties, and the method of conducting the elections of their members of the legislature, Lincoln introduced a supplemental bill which passed the House and Senate without debate or amendment.²⁵

²³ Elections for the officers in the new counties were to be held in the following places: in Menard at Petersburg, Sugar Grove, Huron and Lynchburg; in Logan at Postville and Mt. Pulaski; in Dane (soon changed to Christian) at Buck Hart Grove, Allenton, and the house of John Durkin.

²⁴ *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 16, 1839.

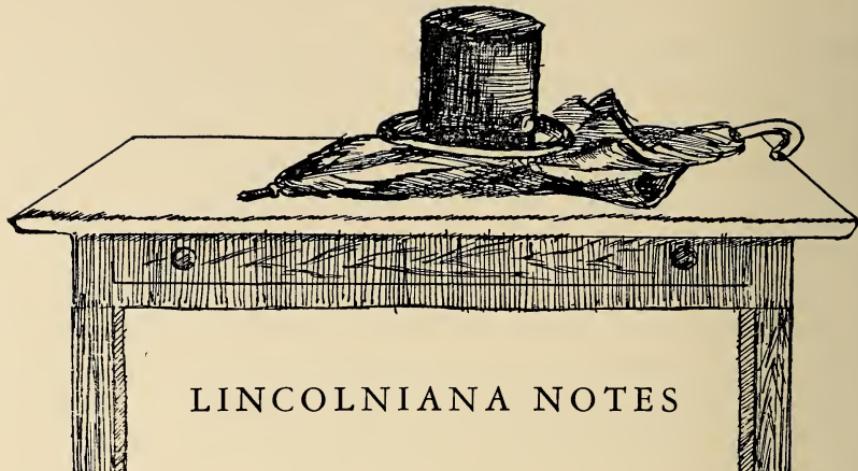
²⁵ 1838-1839 Gen. Assembly, House Bill No. 340; *House Journal*, 566; *Laws of 1839*, p. 205.

LINCOLN ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL

The Spring, 1955 Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society will be devoted exclusively to Abraham Lincoln and his family.

There will be the story of the restoration of the Lincoln Home and the opening of the second floor to the public. Purchases made by the Lincolns from J. Bunn & Co. and Irwin & Co. in Springfield in the 1840's will be shown from unpublished journals and ledgers. An 1852 diary will throw new light on the home life of the family. There will be new data on Lincoln as a judge on the Eighth Circuit, and a soldier's description of the President having his picture taken at Brady's gallery.

Other articles will include an unpublished letter of Mary Owens, the only extant speech made to the New Salem Temperance Society, and the 1833-1834 minutes of the Farmer's Point Literary Society, to which many of Lincoln's friends belonged.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

LINCOLN AT GALENA IN 1856

In his autobiography written for John L. Scripps in 1860, Abraham Lincoln said: "In the canvass of 1856, Mr. L. made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print." Despite all the searches which have been made we do not have a complete itinerary of his speech-making tours, let alone recorded accounts of his speeches. Of the latter we have only a few, including the one delivered at Kalamazoo, Michigan on August 27. One of the best reports of any of Lincoln's speeches in Illinois in 1856 was of his appearance in Galena on July 23.

"His speech was almost wholly argumentative," said the *Galena Weekly Northwestern Gazette* of July 29 in a reprint from its daily edition, the *Galena Daily Advertiser*. "In a clear, connected and masterly manner he traced the history of slavery aggression . . . and pointed out, like a true statesman, the consequence of permitting the curse to spread itself over our immense territories."

In addition to an account of the speech proper (see *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Abraham Lincoln As-

sociation edition, II: 353-55) the *Gazette* carried the following sketch and description of Lincoln. This it reprinted on June 12, 1860, three weeks after his nomination for the presidency at Chicago by the Republican Convention:

Mr. Lincoln addressed a Galena audience for the first time on last Wednesday evening, and proved himself to be emphatically one of the "tallest" men in the State. Mr. Lincoln is a Kentuckian by birth, an Illinoian by adoption, and a Freeman all over. Like the corn of his adopted State he has enjoyed no stunted growth, and stands somewhere between six and seven feet high. His voice is clear, sonorous and pleasant, and he enunciates with distinctness and emphasis. His style of address is earnest, not agonistic nor bombastic; he is animated, without being furious, and impresses one with the fact that he is speaking what he fully believes. His matter is neither fanciful nor rhetorical but logical. His thoughts, are strong thoughts, strongly jointed. He is a close reasoner, and has the faculty of making himself clearly understood. He does not leave merely a vague impression that he has said something worth hearing; the hearer remembers just what that something is. The sledge hammer effect of his speech results from the resistless force of the argument of the logician, not the fierce gestures and loud rantings of the demagogue. There is nothing low about Mr. Lincoln, and he never stoops to utter a meaningless witticism or vulgar jest, to raise a momentary laughter.

A BLACK HAWK WAR PAYROLL

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently added to its Black Hawk War collections several photostats of Army paymasters' "receipt rolls," which are itemized accounts of allowances received by Illinois volunteers for their service. Among those in the files of the General Accounting Office, now in the National Archives, is one which shows the payments made to Abraham Lincoln for his service in Captain Elijah Iles's company.

Lincoln first served as captain of a company in General Samuel Whiteside's brigade, which rendezvoused at Beardstown the last of April, 1832, marched to Rock Island and then up Rock River in pursuit of Black Hawk's band. The brigade became restive and eager to return home to interrupted spring planting, abandoned its pursuit of the Indians and marched to Ottawa, where it was discharged May 27-28. Governor John Reynolds then called for volunteers from the brigade to remain on the frontier for twenty days until new recruits arrived. Iles's company was formed from the three hundred men who re-enlisted for this period. When it was mustered out, Lincoln again re-enlisted, this time in an independent spy company, commanded by Captain Jacob M. Early, and composed principally of men who had served in the twenty-day regiment. This company was discharged July 10 on the White Water River a few miles above the present Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin. The National Archives has thus far not located the receipt rolls for Lincoln's and Early's companies.

The receipt roll of Iles's company is not dated and indicates no place of payment, but as the Sangamon County troops were scheduled to be paid in Springfield on January 4 and 5, 1833, by Paymaster Timothy P. Andrews, the roll presumably was completed then and there. Most of the "signatures" are by one of the clerks who assisted Andrews. In the "witness" column William Thomas of Jacksonville, appointed by Governor Reynolds to accompany the paymaster and paid for doing so by the United States, wrote: "I was present and Witnessed the payment of this company, except, Asa Esters, J. Graft, M Brents and J Shirley." Lincoln was among those who did not sign his own name to the roll, but he was probably present, since his own company was also to be paid, and Andrews had specifically requested that "*Company Officers . . . attend early on the first day . . . as information not furnished by the Muster Rolls, is, in many cases required, and absolutely necessary, to insure payments to the companies.*"

As a private in Iles's company, Lincoln drew a total of \$26.15, computed as follows:

For twenty-one days' service (May 27-June 16, 1832):

Base pay at the rate of \$6.66 per month, or \$.222 per day.....	\$ 4.66
Forty cents per day for the use of horse (27½ cents), arms (12½ cents), etc.....	8.40
Twenty-five cents per day for rations and forage (equally divided).....	5.25

	\$18.31
Amount deducted for "stoppage".....	2.62

	\$15.69

For twelve days' travel allowance:

Base pay at \$6.66 per month (\$.222 per day) ..	\$ 2.66
For use of horse, and subsistence for self and horse, at \$.65 per day.....	7.80

Total.....	\$26.15

The "stoppage" represented Lincoln's rations for 21 days, at 12½ cents per day, already furnished at the time of service. The distance from Ottawa to Sangamon County is given on the mustering-out roll as 175 miles, and travel time was calculated for an average of fifteen miles per day. Since Lincoln rode a borrowed horse, he probably paid the owner some part of the \$26.15 he received.

Commissioned officers of a company fared much better than the non-commissioned officers and privates. An officer was allowed four rations per day for himself and one for a servant, at twenty cents per ration. He was also given \$5.00 per month pay for his servant, with small allowances for his servant's clothing and subsistence. Captain Iles's total pay was \$63.55; his first lieutenant's \$53.55, and his second lieutenant's (who was from Fayette County and therefore entitled to more travel pay) \$70.15.

RARE LINCOLNIANA PRESENTED TO LIBRARY

A. Conger Goodyear of New York City has presented the Illinois State Historical Library several interesting and important volumes of Lincolniana.

There are three volumes in loose-leaf binders of Meserve photographs of the Lincolns and the political and military leaders of his administration. Frederick H. Meserve, now aged eighty-nine and as keen in the search for new photos of Lincoln as he was when he started a half century ago, writes concerning these volumes:

I do remember that I sent Major [William H.] Lambert some loose sheets of photographs which I had made up for my own study before I published my first book on the photographs of Lincoln in 1911. He and I were close friends and were helping each other in the details of our own collections.

I have never since put together a set of sheets similar to the ones given to Major Lambert.

Next in interest to the Meserve photographs is Ida M. Tarbell's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. It is described in the sale catalog of the Major Lambert collection as "one of 75 copies of the Special Illustrators' Edition. Extra illustrated by the insertion of over 700 portraits, maps, facsimiles, clippings . . . with the last three volumes composed entirely of newspaper and magazine articles." The magazine articles, mostly in the 1890's, are of special value.

To the bibliographer, Mr. Goodyear's finest gift was the copy of Daniel Fish, *Lincoln Literature* [1900] interleaved with manuscript additions and corrections of 214 of the entries in the handwriting of Major Lambert.

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE AT PEORIA

The centennial of the famous debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas on the grounds of the Peoria County courthouse on Monday, October 16, 1854 was ob-

served by a re-enactment of the scene at the original site on the evening of Monday, October 18 before an audience of 5,000. State Representative G. William Horsley took the part of Lincoln and S. Phil Hutchison that of Douglas. These two Springfield attorneys have portrayed these roles in the New Salem State Park productions of the Robert Sherwood play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* for the past nine years. They were introduced by Carl Richardson of Springfield as Washington Cockle, the Peorian who was chairman of the original meeting. The debate was preceded by a torchlight parade in which fifty marchers wore costumes of the 1850's, the debaters rode in horse-drawn carriages and the uniforms of the American Legion color guard were of the pre-Civil War era.

Before the debaters were introduced the Central Illinois Light Company commemorated the beginning of gas street lighting in Peoria a hundred years ago, and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad celebrated a century of rail service to the city. The Peoria Historical Society co-operated with these two firms in staging the event.

When Douglas proposed to speak in Peoria in 1854 on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill the Whigs of that city wrote to Lincoln (see Autumn, 1954 issue of this *Journal*, 308-9, for their letter) asking him to present a rebuttal. On the afternoon of October 16 Douglas spoke for three hours and when he had finished Lincoln suggested that the crowd go home and have supper and then return because "It will take me as long as it has taken him." Lincoln said he was not afraid he would lose his audience this way because Douglas had been promised another hour at the close and "you democrats . . . would stay for the fun of hearing him skin me." Beginning at 7 P.M. Lincoln spoke for three hours, and later wrote out his speech for the *Illinois Daily Journal* of Springfield (see *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Abraham Lincoln Association edition, II: 247-83). The re-enactment did not use this speech but the composite one from the Sherwood play.

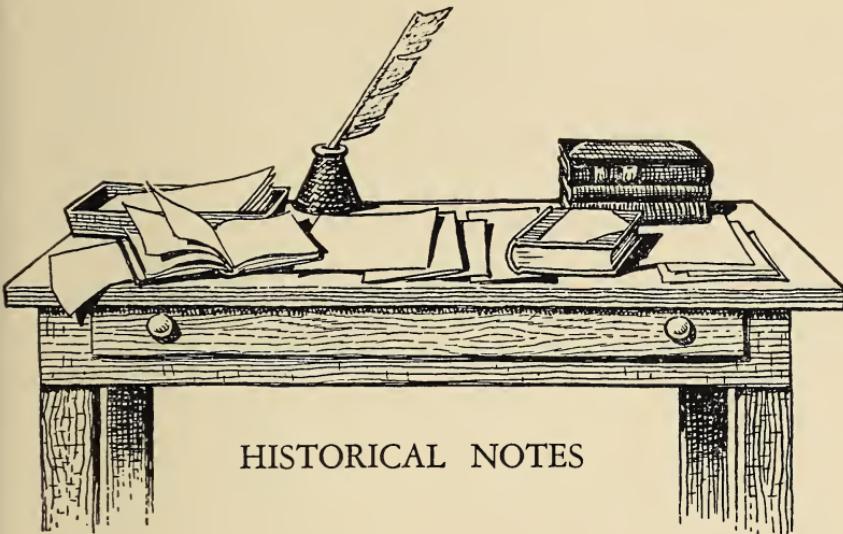
LINCOLN STATUE CONTEST

A contest with prizes totaling \$1,000 for the design of a statue for Lincoln Square in Chicago has been announced by the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Commission and the Lincoln Square Chamber of Commerce. The site is a triangular area of approximately 20 feet on Lawrence Avenue (to the south), 41 feet on Western Avenue and 44 feet on Lincoln Avenue. Contestants must submit their ideas in writing, drawings and/or photographs—no scale models will be accepted. There will be seven prizes: \$500 for first; \$250 for second; and five of \$50 each. Entries and inquiries should be addressed to Abraham Lincoln Memorial Commission, Room 1606, at 134 North LaSalle Street, Chicago. The contest will close at midnight, February 12, 1955.

Governor William G. Stratton appointed the following members of the Commission, following its creation by the Sixty-eighth General Assembly: Leo A. Lerner, Chicago newspaper publisher, State Senator Peter J. Miller and State Representative William E. Pollack.

HERBERT WELLS FAY FAMILY MEMORIAL

A bronze plaque bearing a bas-relief figure of Abraham Lincoln has been erected on the family lot in Oak Ridge Cemetery to memorialize the years that Herbert Wells Fay and his son Earl Owen Fay were custodians of the Lincoln Tomb. The plaque is mounted on a granite gravestone. The Lincoln figure is the work of Robert Weinman. On the left-hand side of the plaque is a quotation attributed to Lincoln: "I can not conceive how a man could look up into the heavens and say there is no God." The elder Fay was appointed custodian in March, 1921 and served for twenty-eight years, retiring at the age of ninety. Earl Fay succeeded his father but resigned the position on June 15, 1950.



HISTORICAL NOTES

STEPHEN H. LONG'S PLAN FOR NEW FORT AT PEORIA

A letter dated September 15, 1816, containing detailed plans and a drawing for a fort to be built at Peoria to replace Fort Clark, the War of 1812 outpost, has been located in the National Archives by Dr. Richard G. Wood,¹ a member of the Archives staff preparing a study of the career of Stephen Harriman Long, author of the letter. Long was a major in the revived Army Corps of Topographical Engineers when he wrote the letter-report to his superior officer, Brigadier General Thomas A. Smith at Knoxville, Tennessee.

Although the War of 1812 had ended December 24, 1814, there was still the problem of a large Indian population, especially in the area of Peoria Lake, and a replacement for Fort Clark was evidently intended as a continuing restraint on the troublesome red man.

Fort Clark was erected on the western shore of Peoria Lake. A detachment of about 150 men of the First United States Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Robert C. Nicholas² arrived on August 29, 1813 from St. Louis in two reinforced keelboats. They constructed a stockade by planting two rows of timbers in the ground and filling in the space between them with earth.³

¹ Dr. Wood, a native of Randolph, N.H., is chief of the Army Section of the War Records Branch of the National Archives. He is a graduate of Dartmouth College and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is the author of a number of articles on local history, with particular reference to New Hampshire, and on archival subjects.

² Gen. Benjamin Howard to Secretary of War, Oct. 28, 1813, in Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, 1904), 151.

³ The stockade was at the foot of what is now Liberty Street in Peoria.

Eight hundred Illinois and Missouri mounted rangers reached the site three days after the regulars, and the combined forces completed construction of the fort on September 23.⁴ A six-pound brass cannon was mounted and the place was named Fort Clark in honor of George Rogers Clark.⁵

The rangers were relieved of duty at the fort in mid-October and the regulars were left as a garrison until the end of the year.⁶ Clashes between British and American forces were numerous in 1814 and depredations of the Indian allies of the British continued, so that it was necessary to reoccupy the fort—probably with the First Infantry.

Major Long was on his second topographical assignment in the Middle West when he came to Peoria in the summer of 1816. He was gaining experience which would serve to make him famous as an explorer of the Rocky Mountains (Long's Peak, Colorado, is named for him) and the Red River of the North. Later he became one of the early engineers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, surveyed railroad routes from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, constructed steamboats for the Quartermaster Department during the Mexican War, and became chief of the Topographical Engineers during the Civil War. He retired in 1863 and went to Alton, Illinois, where his brothers Enoch and George W. Long were living. Enoch Long had been a friend of Elijah Lovejoy and was recognized as leader of the group that defended the Godfrey and Gilman warehouse on the night it was attacked by a proslavery mob and Lovejoy was killed. Major Long died at Alton on September 4, 1864, in his eightieth year, and willed property to the city for a young ladies' seminary.

Long's report of an appropriate site for a new fort in Peoria follows:

SAINT LOUIS
SEPT. 15. 1816

SIR:

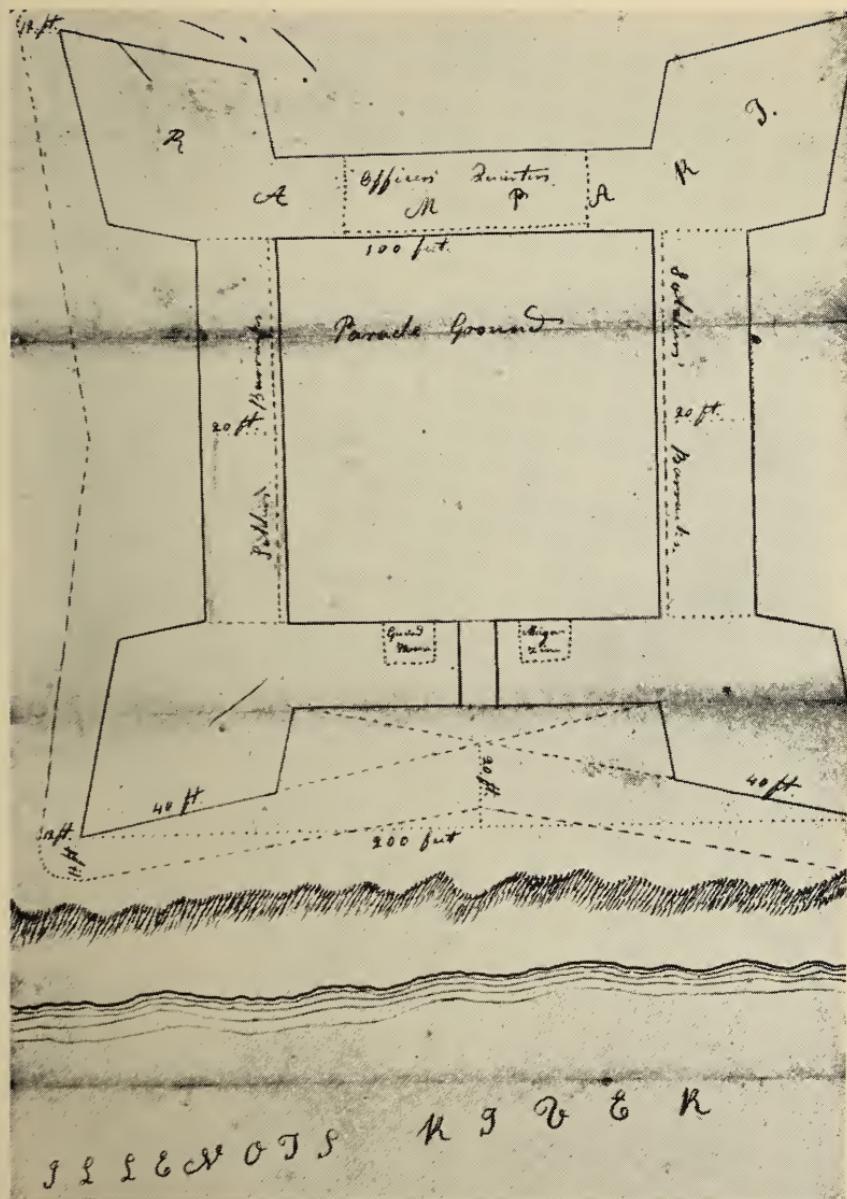
Pursuant to your Instructions, I have reconoitered the Illinois River to Gomoe's Village situated a little above Lake Peoria, about 230 miles above the mouth of the river; in quest of a position suitable for a military Post.

In fixing upon a Site for the purpose, the objects kept in view, were principally, a position so situated in relation to other parts of the Country to be fortified, that an intercourse may be kept up, between it and other neighbouring Posts, with the least possible obstructions; the command of the River

⁴ While the first blockhouse was being built, 150 Indians under Black Partridge of upper Peoria Lake attacked the troops but were beaten off. Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport, 1858), 147-50; John F. Brickey, Potosi, Mo., to John T. Lindsay, Peoria, in Simeon DeWitt Drown, *Historical View of Peoria* (Peoria, 1850), 67-70. Brickey said the stockade enclosed two or three acres.

⁵ Letter from an unnamed writer, probably Thomas Forsyth, to Gov. William Clark at St. Louis, dated Sept. 24 and printed in the *Missouri Gazette* [St. Louis], Oct. 2, 1813. The writer says, "Last evening a brass six pounder was mounted and fired from one of the Block houses, and the fort named CLARK, as due the veteran who traversed this territory when almost unknown to any American."

⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1813.



MAJOR LONG'S DRAWING FOR A NEW FORT AT PEORIA

This plan and an accompanying letter, both dated September 15, 1816, were recently found in the records of the office of the Secretary of War in the National Archives.

and the security of the Post against the attack of an Enemy; the facilities for constructing works, as also for supplying a garrison with Provisions, fuel &c.

The Site I have chosen, as embracing all these advantages in a more eminent degree than any other I have been able to find, is a position, 220 yards below the present Fort Clarke,⁷ immediately upon the bank of the River, which is here 72 Yards wide, and just at the foot of Lake Peoria, sometimes called the Illinois Lake. This position, taking the course of the Illinois, is about midway between St. Louis & Chicago, nearly upon a straight line, passing from Fort Harrison on the Wabash to the mouth of Rock River on the Mississippi, being distant from the former about 200, and from the latter about 70 miles.

The present Fort Clarke is not susceptible of suitable repairs. Its position is not eligible, and the rise, form & structure of its works are illy calculated for defence. Upon the spot I have selected, I would recommend the erection of a regular Work, on a square whose side is 264 feet, which will be sufficiently large to receive four companies of Soldiers upon any extraordinary emergency, but only large enough to accommodate two, with comfortable quarters.

The mode of constructing the work best suited to the kind of defence that will be required, is to surround the whole with a ditch reveted with Masonwork of Stone, using the excavated earth, to form a Glassis; and Rampart of a width sufficient to admit Barracks & Quarters to be erected thereon; the depth of the ditch below the top of the Rampart being six feet. On the revetment of the Scarp, a wooden Parapet or wall to be built of square timber, one foot in thickness and seven in height, the North, South & West Curtains being raised to a height suitable for the rear walls of the Quarters & Barracks. The East Curtain fronting the River, together with all the Bastions, to be fortified with Pickets, six inches in diameter, and six asunder, placed within the work, reclining against the top of the Parapet, and projecting somewhat in advance of it. The height of the Pickets above the Parapet, being five feet, thus presenting a front in every direction to an assailing enemy, eighteen feet in height.

In rear of the Position above mentioned, and at the distance of 200 yards, is a commanding height, by which the contemplated work will be masked from the main Bluffs which are at their nearest point, 1100 yards further in rear. Upon this height which is more elevated than any other part of the surrounding Prairie, the Bluffs excepted, and which commands every inch of

⁷ Ernest E. East of the Illinois State Archives has secured from City Engineer A. J. Pfeiler of Peoria the approximate location of the proposed fort:

"Beginning at the Southwest line of Lot 5 in Block 50 and extending downstream along the river to the Southwesterly line of Lot 11 in Block 49; thence in a Northwesterly direction along said line of Lot 11 for a distance of 264 feet; thence in a Northeasterly direction to the said line of Lot 5; thence in a Southeasterly direction to the place of beginning.

"All of the above described property being in Lots [Blocks] 49 and 50 of Bigelow and Underhill's Addition to the City of Peoria and in the 400 and 500 blocks of Water St.

"The Southwest line of Lot 5 is approximately 80 feet North of the North side of the Franklin Street Bridge. This property is presently occupied by the Central Illinois Light and Power Co., Gipps Brewing Corp., and the R[ight] O[f] W[ay] of Franklin Street."

ground to the full extent of a 24-Pounder's range, I would recommend the erection of a stone Tower, thirty feet in height, upon which it would be proper to mount an eighteen Pounder upon a Traversing Carriage.

The materials necessary for the construction of the works above specified, may be had in abundance within a small distance from the Site. I discovered and tested many specimens of Lime Stone, which proved to be of a good quality; as also specimens of Brick Clay. The neighbouring wood Lands afford good timber, and a future deficiency of wood for Fuel will be amply remedied by a plentiful supply of excellent Stone Coal which may be had near at hand.

Considering that the Illinois is a River exceeded by none in the U. States, in the facilities it affords for Inland Navigation; Also that by the Treaty⁸ just concluded with the Indians, our Government is to have a fair and undisputable title to a tract of Country lying along the Illinois from Fort Clarke to Chicago, I should by no means deem it expedient to erect works at this place of less magnitude, or of a less permanent character, than those specified above.

To Maj. Biddle⁹ I have given such explanations relative to the works here contemplated, that he will be able to execute any orders he may receive relative to them.

I have the Honour to be Sir; very respectfully
Your most obedient & very humble Servant

BRIGR. GEN. THOS. A. SMITH

S. H. LONG MAJ TOPL ENGRS
ACTG. ENGR. OF FORTIFICATIONS.

P.S. In addition to what may be readily effected by the labour of Soldiers, I judge that \$3000 will be sufficient for the erection of the works.

FIRST-HAND REPORT OF AN 1877 WEDDING

One of the seven hundred guests invited to the wedding of Annie W. Turney and Thomas J. Baird in Springfield on February 28, 1877, was Mrs. Emily Chandler Lippencott of Chandlerville. In the letter below, she gives her sister Mrs. Louise Chandler Frackelton of Petersburg, a first-hand report. The sisters were daughters of Dr. Charles Chandler, pioneer physician for whom Chandlerville was named. (See Josephine Craven Chandler, "Dr. Charles Chandler, His Place in the American Scene," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, October, 1931.) Mrs. Lippencott was the wife of Charles E. Lippencott, doctor-farmer and brigadier general in the Civil War who later served two terms as state auditor and held other public offices.

Members of the family who are mentioned in the letter are a son, Winthrop, then sixteen, a sister Jane Chandler Shaw, and a niece Alice

⁸ Presumably the treaties of September, 1815 and May, 1816 with Black Hawk's band and a portion of the Sac and Fox Indians ceding western Illinois. See Henry P. Beers, *The Western Military Frontier 1815-1846* (Philadelphia, 1935), 80.

⁹ Maj. John Biddle of Pennsylvania, then in the Artillery Corps.

Chandler. This penciled letter is now owned by Mrs. Louise Shaw Dorr of Chandlerville:

CHANDLERVILLE, ILLINOIS
MARCH 6, 1877

MY DEAR SISTER:

No doubt you were very much surprised to hear of my being at the wedding in Springfield.... Monday I was working on Charles' afgan and planning my work for the week, when about half after eleven I received a telegram from Charles telling me to come to Springfield and bring his best suit, and be ready to go to the wedding. I thought I could not go and that it would be foolish but Jane insisted, so I went on the train in about two hours. I had no preparations to make for myself, only shoes, gloves, and a few flowers. The day was lovely and the evening too. We went about seven o'clock, calling for Carrie Barrell on the way.

They were not quite ready for us, but we being old neighbors and friends, did not care for that, and had all the better chance to see the people as they came in. Mrs. [William A.] Turney, the mother, was dressed as a widow should be in a plain and deep black. The bride in two shades of light blue grosgrain silk, long train, Princess dress elaborately trimmed with white tulle and point applique lace, orange flowers and white jassamine. Square veil, pinned on with a diamond cluster, hair, high on the head, all frizzed and puffed up, like you see in any Bazaar, plenty of fine flowers, long white gloves, diamond earrings. . . .

First Brides maid, her cousin, in white silk. She had heavy red hair, so all her flowers were blue, delicate and profuse. Pearl jewelry, white gloves. Second Brides maid, Miss [Marie]Morrison of Jacksonville dressed in a lovely cream colored silk, very handsome, Princess style, trimmed heavily with lace and flowers, pink and white and very fine, gold jewelry, I think perhaps cameos. I know she has both but forgot which she wore. Miss Maude Turney, third Brides maid, Wint's partner wore deep rose color heavily puffed and trimmed with tarlton and flowers, her hair dark and long, had simple flowers, pink silk stockings with white slippers with pink lacings, no jewelry but a beautiful pin in her sash, a lovely bouquet, presented, of course, by her attendant, young Lippencott. Little Miss Hallie Elliot, Fourth Brides maid, dressed just like Maud, only in blue instead of pink, her escort Master Birch Warren, cousin of the bride.

About eight o'clock, we were now packed like sardines (such a crowd) the band played the wedding march, and two young gentlemen as ushers, made a path, by moving the people, and came in, followed by the Minister, [the Rev. F. M. Gregg] (Episcopal) in his long white Surplice, with a boy also in white, carrying his prayer book, handkerchief, and so forth.

The two ushers stood at one side, the Minister turned around with his boy and Wint and his Lady came in first, marching in elegant time and splendid order, Wint placing his Lady by the side of the Brother, who gave the Bride away. Birch came next in good order and placed his little Lady opposite. Right behind came the other two Groomsmen and other Brides maids, one couple stepping to the right, the other to the left, and between

them right under an arch, beautifully decorated with evergreens and white flowers, under a *perfectly lovely* marriage Bell covered with flowers, with a splendid camelia for a clapper, stood the Bride and Groom. All was hushed as the ceremony began.

When he asked "Who gives away this bride?" Mrs. Turney's oldest brother [William M. Warren of Berlin] stepped forward (previously drilled by Alice Chandler) and gave away the bride, the Minister took the ring from the Groom, handed it to the First Brides maid, Miss Warren, who stepped forward, kneeled before the Bride, and placed it on her finger, after which the Minister proceeded with the ceremony and prayer, after which he congratulated the couple, then the Mother, when Young Lippencott took the sister up and they congratulated the couple, then they stood in their places until that great croud went through the congratulations, when the Bridal party marched in to supper, just as they came in. Wint did not have to get new clothes, only necktie, gloves and handkerchief.

After supper they had the Bridal Quadrille. Little Miss Hallie Elliot is a perfect fairy for grace not only in dancing but every act, she is one of the finest readers and recites often for company, and charms every one, she takes lessons in elocution, which is now the rage for young ladies particularly who have no musical taste. They learn to read and recite in public instead, and in this way make entertainments very pleasant and often very elevating.

But to the wedding. After the supper the croud was so great that we soon left for home, went to see the presents, she had about fifty, all elegant, nearly all ornamental. The Groomsmen and ushers gave her a clock, bronze and onyx, with companion month ornaments. . . .

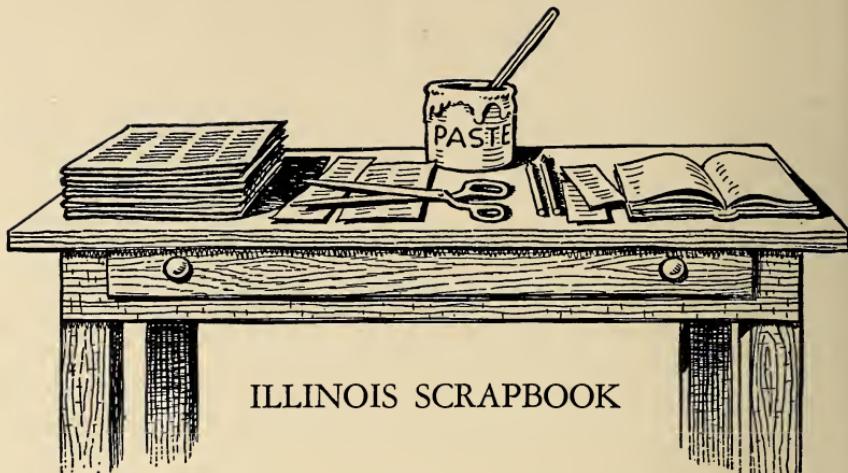
The Bride did not go away but the Bridesmaids and Grooms men nearly all stayed at the house; they had dinners, breakfasts and parties all the rest of the week, until they were glad enough Saturday, to go home. Charles and I had complement after complement for both Alice and Wint we were quite pleased, considering their youth, they did very well. Alice was simply dressed in a purple and white striped silk, I gave her, made up with white, a few flowers were all her ornaments. . . .

I cannot write you about the table, for it was too much, four large pyramids, one of different colored jellies, one of oranges with the peel on, fancifully cut, also grapes of different colors, one of sliced oranges built up and a fine veil of candy threads over it. (I have had them for parties and they are lovely,) the other of candy and macaroons, cakes were so high and large they had to have stands of their own to hold them, very finely ornamented. They had everything you could possibly get at this season. I did not eat any for the croud was so great we had to stand up, you know I can keep moving better than stand on one foot long, and hold a plate and cup of coffee.

I wore my black silk trimmed with velvet, with cream colored flowers mixed with cardinal, hair french twist and puffs. Wint said I looked "horrid," others thought not, so it is. Charles wore black dress suit with pearl satin necktie and gloves to match mine, so you see you know the full account.

YOUR LOVING SISTER

EM.



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

AN EARLY DESCRIPTION OF BISHOP HILL

One of the earliest published accounts of the Bishop Hill colony appeared in the *Aurora Beacon* of July 28, 1847. It had been printed even earlier in the *Chicago Commercial Advertiser* under the heading "Colony of Swedes." At that time the colony was about a year old:

Mr. Editor:—I have thought that your readers might be interested in some account of the Swedes who recently passed through our place, and having lately returned from a visit to them, I send you the following notice. I cannot make it as ample as I should like, but as far as it goes you may rely on its correctness. The leader of this colony, Eric Janson—or as it is Anglicized, Johnson, having become converted while in his native land, felt himself called upon to preach the faith which he received to his countrymen. I am not informed in what particular he and his disciples differed from the established Church in Sweden, but the difference, be it what it may, was the cause of their persecution, and to avoid persecution, they sought an asylum in this new world, where, as yet, it is no

sin for every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. That their crimes were not very heinous, I infer from this fact, that one of their number was fined for two repeated violations of the peace and good order of the good people of Sweden—one was reading the Bible on the Lord's Day, and another for reading the Lord's Prayer on the same day. Exactly what their theological views are is not known, as they speak our language as yet but imperfect—perhaps extra-evangelical would express their character as well as any one term.

They have purchased two sections of land in Henry county, about eight miles south of Cambridge, the county seat. Their town is situated in a little grove called Hoop-Pole grove, and directly south of their town is

a field of nine hundred and sixty acres, under a good state of cultivation. In this little settlement you will find carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, tailors, brewers, bakers, tanners, curriers, millers, and farmers, each busily at work at his separate vocation—nor is the inner man forgotten in all this provision for the outer, as their school rooms well stored with books abundantly testify. There is a class of young men studying Theology, under the care of the Rev. Wm. R. Talbot, late of Iowa University, who have already made considerable proficiency.

These people hold all things in common, and each work for the good of all the rest, as well as for his own. Their houses are partly under ground and partly above—or it might rather be said that they are all under ground, as turf covers the sides and tops of all these dwellings. They are all well lined with plank inside, and tidier dwellings I have never seen on any

Illinois prairies. The spaces between the dwellings are regularly swept down, and will compare for neatness with any streets in the world. Every night and morning they all assemble in their church in the grove, and have prayer and other devotional exercises for an hour and a half. In their dealings with others, I have never heard anything alleged against them, and they are certainly most quiet and peaceful under great provocations, as I have had occasion to see. They have been much annoyed, I am sorry to add, by evil disposed people from other counties; a Reverend Justice of the Peace is among their persecutors, but the good people of Henry county, as far as I have had opportunity to converse with them, are resolved that these fugitives from persecution in the old world, shall be unmolested in the new, so long as their only crime is worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

REPORT ON RELIGION AND MORALS IN 1813

John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills toured the Midwest and South in 1812-1813 on behalf of the Presbyterian missionary societies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Here is the "Illinois Territory" section of the report which Schermerhorn made on December 10, 1813 (*A Correct View of That Part of the United States Which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains, With Regard to Religion and Morals.* By John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills. Hartford [Connecticut]: Peter B. Gleason and Co. Printers. 1814. Pp. 31-32):

The settlements in this territory are very small and are much scattered. Those on the Ohio are few, except the Saline and Shaawnee town, and about fort Massac. On Cash River, is a small settlement, but the principal are

about Kaskaskias on the Mississippi, at the American bottom.

This country is delightfully situated, as to climate and is almost a continued prairie, interspersed with copses of wood, from Vincennes to

St. Louis. From a survey of a road between these two places, lately made, it appears that this distance of 150 miles, the country is for every half-mile, or mile, alternately prairie and open wood land. The American bottom is said to be the finest body of land to be found in the western country.

This Territory has only two counties at present,—Randolph containing 7,275 inhabitants, embracing the settlements on the Ohio and Kaskaskias; and St. Clair 5,007 embracing the settlements opposite St. Louis and Missouri, on the upper settlements. Of this county, Cahokia is the county town. In this whole Territory is not a solitary Presbyterian minister,

though there are several families of this denomination in different settlements. At Kaskaskias they are anxious to obtain a Presbyterian preacher of proper character and talents, who would be willing to take the charge of an Academy. The Baptists have 4 or 5 small churches consisting of not more than 120 members. The Methodists have 5 itinerants, besides some local preachers, and perhaps 600 members in their society. This country was rapidly settling before the war, and should peace be restored, will greatly increase in population, and ought to receive early attention from Missionary Bodies.

THE IMPORTANCE OF STEAMBOATS

That the steamboat was an important part of Illinois life more than a century ago is shown by excerpts from newspapers recently acquired by the Historical Library. The *Galena Gazette* of December 9, 1837, carried this summary of the previous year's activity along the Galena levee:

Commerce of Galena.—The total number of arrivals and departures of Steamboats at this port, for the year 1837, has been *seven hundred and seventeen*. Of this number, one hundred and ninety-seven have been arrivals from St. Louis and ports on the Ohio River, and one hundred and sixty-one, from ports on the Wisconsin and Mississippi above Galena. In the fore-part of the season trade was not so brisk, and in consequence there were fewer arrivals of boats, than later in the season. There has been twenty-nine boats engaged in the trade, of the following names, viz: Palmyra, Dubuque, Pavilion, Adventure, Emerald, Gipsy, Missouri Ful-

ton, Envoy, Wyoming, Olive Branch, Science, Ariel, Cavalier, Heroine, Galenian, Smelter, Lady Marshall, Irene, Alps, Huntress, Rolla, Caledonia, Burlington, North Star, Bee, Wisconsin, Rover, Chariton, Cygnet. The first arrival was the Palmyra, March 28th; and the last was the Wisconsin, Dec. 4th.

There has been but a very few accidents on the river this season the blowing up of the Dubuque was the most destructive to life; the bursting of the Rolla, cost a life, and with these excepted, no other loss to life has been sustained. The Emerald, Dubuque and Heroine, were lost, one by a snag, the two others by the rapids.

In 1843 three packets were making regular trips from Peoria to St. Louis: the Louisa, Sarah Ann and Rosalie. The latter made two trips a week to one each for the other two. On September 2, 1843 a minor tragedy on the Illinois River was reported by the Illinois Gazette of Lacon:

The Mail Steamer Frontier Sunk.—On Saturday last, near the Narrows about six miles above Peoria, the mail boat *Frontier* on her upward trip, came in collision with the steamer *Panama* going downward,—was stove in, in fifteen feet water, but run in ten feet water where she sunk. The mails, furniture and other moveable articles were taken from the boat before she went down.

The *Frontier* has plied as the mail boat between Peoria and Peru for ten consecutive years, and has for several years been the oldest boat on the river. The service she has done has been immense, running nine hundred miles per week and her season averaging eight months the year. There were few boats of the latest model and age that could surpass her in speed. She will be missed by those who have been accustomed to her daily puffing and wheezing for so many years. Shades of 'Frontier' life—farewell.

The mail is now carried overland and in four horse coaches and wagons.

The long-awaited opening of the Illinois-Michigan Canal made 1848 one of the big years in Illinois steam-boating. In two separate articles in

the issue of April 28 The Ottawa Free Trader reported:

PACKETS.—The *St. Louis*, the first upon the canal of the splendid line of packets for carrying passengers between Chicago and La Salle, passed here last evening. The *Chicago* is expected to-day and the *New Orleans* to-morrow. The line consists of five boats. The *Chicago*, Capt. Nobles; the *St. Louis*, Capt. Wiggins; the *New Orleans*, Capt. Wheeler; the *Illinois*, Capt. Woodruff, and the *Louisiana*, the name of whose Capt. we have not learned. All these boats are now ready for the water, and have commenced their regular trips. They will form a daily line, and the arrangements are such that there will be a boat in waiting for passengers at either end of the line. The boats are unsurpassed in outward appearance and interior arrangements for the comfort of passengers.

* * *

THE CANAL — First Boat Through.—The "Gen. Thornton," one of Hardy's line of freight boats, built at La Salle, commanded by Capt. F. G. Mills, has the distinction of being the first boat through the entire length of the canal, from Peru to Chicago. The *Thornton* reached Chicago on Saturday. She made the trip in 3 days. The "Industry," another boat of the same line, passed up on Sunday. The "Col. Yell" left here for above on Wednesday, with a full cargo, and the "Trader" left yesterday. There have other boats started up, the names of which we have not heard.

On May 9, 1848 the first cargo and passenger boat, the *General Fry*, owned at Lockport, made the trip from La Salle to Chicago, and on the same day the *Louisiana* left Chicago for La Salle. Both of them had Clearance No. 1 for this type of vessel.

The winter of 1847-1848 must have been a mild one because the *Peoria Democratic Press* noted on February 23, 1848 that the *Defiance* had arrived the day before from St. Louis making the sixtieth boat to come up the Illinois River since navigation opened on January 1.

RIVER TRAVEL IN PRE-STEAMBOAT DAYS

James Hall, in his *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838), concluded that Robert Fulton should be honored in the Midwest along with George Washington, "if the one conducted us to liberty, the other has given us prosperity . . . and multiplied the ties which bind us to each other." He went on to tell of the boats used before the invention of the steamboat (pp. 218-19, 222-23):

Previous to their intercourse with the whites, the canoes of the Indians must have been much more unwieldy, and imperfect, than any that are now in use. They had no tools except the clumsy axes made of stone, of which we see specimens in our museums; and their canoes were made of solid logs by burning away the part intended to be removed. Some of the most distant tribes, who have little trade with our people still pursue the same laborious and unsatisfactory process. When iron tools were introduced, the canoe assumed the present shape.

The birch canoe is peculiar to the northern regions, where the tree which supplies the bark is found. These also were probably of the most crude and awkward construction, previous to the visits of the French traders, under whose direction they acquired the lightness, strength, and beauty, which have given them their celebrity.

The earliest improvement upon the canoe, was the Pirogue, an invention of the whites. Like the canoe, this boat is hewed out of the solid log; the difference is, that the pirogue has greater width and capacity, and is composed of several pieces of timber—as if the canoe was sawed lengthwise into two equal sections, and a broad flat piece of timber inserted in the middle, so as to give greater breadth of beam to the vessel. This was probably the identical process, by which the Europeans, unable to procure planks to build boats, began in the first instance to enlarge canoes, to suit their purposes. They were often used as ferryboats, to transport horses across our rivers, and we have frequently seen them in operation, of a sufficient size, to effect their object in perfect safety.

These were succeeded by the *barge*, the *keel*, and the *flat boat*. Of the two first, the barge was the largest, had the greatest breadth, and the best

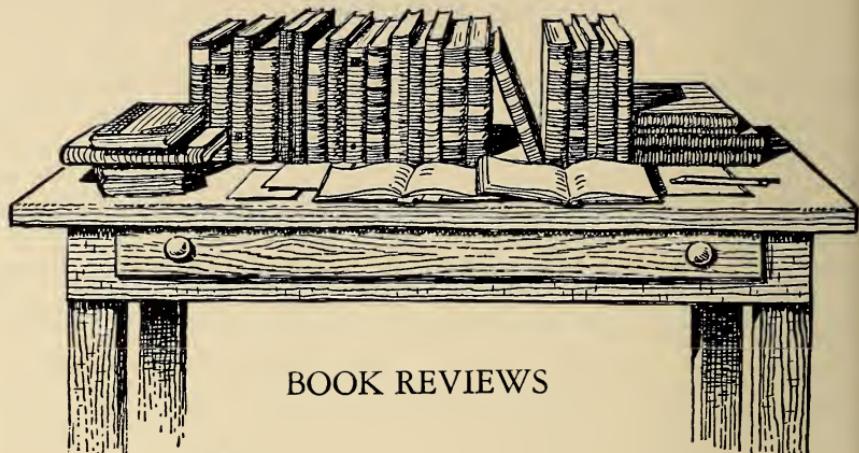
accommodations for passengers, the keel was longer, had less depth, and was better fitted to run in narrow and shallow channels. They were navigated by a rude and lawless class of men, who became distinguished as well for their drolleries, as for their predatory and ferocious habits. In the then thinly scattered state of the population, their numbers rendered them formidable, as there were few villages on the rivers, and still fewer settlements, which contained a sufficient number of able bodied men, to cope with the crew of a barge, consisting usually of thirty or forty hands; while the arrival of several of these boats together, made them completely masters of the place. Their mode of life, and the facilities they possessed for evading the law, were such as would naturally make them reckless. Much of the distance through which they traveled in their voyages, was entire wilderness, where they neither witnessed the courtesies of life, nor felt any of the restraints of law; and where for days, perhaps weeks, together, they associated only with each other. The large rivers whose meanders they pursued, formed the boundaries of states, so that living continually on the lines which divided different civil jurisdictions, they could pass with ease from one to the other, and never be made responsible to any. . . .

The *flat* boat, was introduced a little later than the others. It is a rough strong boat, with a perfectly flat bottom, and perpendicular sides; and covered throughout its whole length. Being constructed to float

only with the current, it never returns after descending the river. These boats were formerly much used by emigrating families, to transport themselves down the Ohio, and are still built in great numbers on the various tributary streams, and floated out in high water, with produce for New Orleans.

The French who navigated the northern lakes, the Mississippi, and its tributaries, adopted, in their trade, the use of the Indian birch canoe. McKenney, in his "Tour to the Lakes," thus describes one of those boats. "Its length is thirty feet, and its breadth across the widest part, about four feet. It is about two and a half feet deep in the centre, but only about two feet near the bow and stern. Its bottom is rounded, and has no keel. . . ."

These boats were so light, and so easily damaged, that precautions were necessary to be taken in loading them, yet the one described above, carried not less than two thousand pounds. With these frail vessels the French navigated the western rivers, and crossed the largest lakes, carrying on a most extensive traffic. The great peculiarity of this navigation is, that these light canoes are carried with facility from one river to another, or around the rapids and cascades, over which they cannot float. Their lading is accordingly made up into packages, each of which may be carried by one man, and these are transported over the portages, on the backs of the *engagées*, by means of straps passed over the forehead. These boats are still used in the fur trade.



BOOK REVIEWS

Grierson's Raid. By D. Alexander Brown. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1954. Pp. 261. \$4.00.)

Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, a former Jacksonville, Illinois, music teacher, led the "most brilliant expedition of the Civil War," according to General William T. Sherman. Starting at La Grange, Tennessee, forty-five miles east of Memphis, his 1,700 Northern cavalry raiders rode south for sixteen days (April 17–May 2, 1863) in a destructive sweep of 600 miles across the state of Mississippi to Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The raid accomplished its purposes—to distract the Confederates' attention from General Grant's move on Vicksburg, and to destroy supply lines to that city. Grant called the raid "the most successful thing of the kind since the breaking out of the rebellion." The raid story has all the color, action, movement and suspense of a top western movie. Efforts of the Confederates to catch Grierson's cavalry are told along with the day-by-day advance of the elusive farm boys from Illinois.

Author Brown has provided maps, pictures and footnotes, and has based his story on the letters and diaries of the participants, Southern newspapers, Grierson's autobiography, and Sergeant Surby's account published in 1865. The University of Illinois Press is to be commended for publishing this exciting book in its attractive format.

Grierson remained in the army until 1890, commanding at Forts Sill, Concho and Davis, and at Prescott Barracks in the Southwest. His autobiography, many of his Civil War letters (some 6,000) and later correspondence have been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by a relative, Mrs. Martha Frank of Jacksonville.

H. E. P.

Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action. By Louis M. Starr.
(Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1954. Pp. 367, xix. \$5.00.)

In the Autumn, 1953 issue of this *Journal* there was reviewed Bernard A. Weisberger's *Reporters for the Union*. *Bohemian Brigade* is a more interesting and informative book about New York editors, their reporters and other war correspondents in cities westward to Chicago and St. Louis.

Author Starr had access to the papers of Sydney Howard Gay, managing editor of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, and uses the thousand confidential letters to good advantage. It was Gay who reprimanded a reporter: "I pray you remember that the *Tribune* is a daily *newspaper*—or meant to be—and not a historical record of past events." Money was spent freely by the *Tribune* to scoop its talented competitor, the *Herald*. No reader of either was allowed to forget the newspaper war—no limits were put on the amount of persiflage, insult and calumny which appeared about a rival.

All presidents before Lincoln had "pet" newspapers "for the release of news and quasi-official expressions of policy." He altered this, and the "collection of news in Washington became the free-for-all it has remained ever since." Some generals cared little for reporters—Sherman and Meade wanted none around. Others of lesser ability preferred a good press, passing out not only information but food for the reporter and his horse. Grant was tolerant, as shown by passages in the Sylvanus Cadwallader diary, the original of which is in the Illinois State Historical Library and is being edited for publication.

At Gettysburg, thanks to the speed of news gathering, editing, printing and delivery, the troops read an account of the battle of July 1, 1863, before the guns were silenced on July 3. Even the President received his first news of the *Merrimac*, of Shiloh, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg from reporters and the newspapers. Unfair reporting, leakage of military secrets and inefficient censorship abounded, but one fact became evident—the nation could not "sustain its armies in the field or its war effort at home over a period of months running into years in total ignorance of the course of events."

To get the news into his editor's hands first, many a reporter resorted to bribery, subterfuge, plagiarism and outright fakery. Reporting improved as the war went on, and there was less recourse to the injunction of Editor Wilbur F. Storey of the *Chicago Times*, "If there is no news, send rumors!" Reporters often risked life and limb to get their stories on the battlefield, for an editor "lopped names off the payroll as casually as he killed dated copy." Twenty-five dollars a week and expenses was standard for topnotch reporters, and padding of expense accounts was not unknown despite the itemization demanded by the business office.

News without commentary was born in the Civil War—the two appeared in the same paper, but less often in the same dispatch. People bought newspapers for the *war news*. The government, by its official bulletins, recognized that the people wanted the news—even though it were a casualty list. The work of the battlefield artists is today a valuable source in *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's*.

Footnotes in *Bohemian Brigade* are at the bottom of the pages for ready reference. There is a biographical supplement, a bibliography and a good index.

H. E. P.

Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By James D. Horan. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1954. Pp. xxvi, 326. \$5.00.)

This intriguing book offers a strange mixture of historical fact, Civil War folklore, and the author's conjecture. The narrative introduces Thomas H. Hines, C.S.A., as a raider, credits him with engineering General John H. Morgan's escape from his Ohio prison, and follows the "Confederate Agent" on his Canadian mission. Hines is linked, sometimes by indirection, to the various "conspiracies" hatched at the Canadian base, the most notable being the plan to release the prisoners at Camp Douglas and the sponsorship of a Copperhead rebellion in the Northwest. Oftentimes the author relies upon acceptable documentary evidence, sometimes he accepts contentions selected from the body of postwar literature contributed by participants, and often he adds his own predilections to fill the many gaps. He employs the journalists' license to reconstruct conversation—a practice which enhances the book's readability but lessens its historical value.

Pretension seems to characterize the book from beginning to end. The author's claim that he was the first to use the Turner-Baker Papers in the National Archives and that those manuscripts enabled him to solve the conspiracy puzzle are baldly challenged by this reviewer. The pretension theme also seems to characterize the ten-page bibliography. Scores of items are only distantly related to the Hines story, and errors in the listing of individual items are numerous. Recent scholarly studies in a few instances were bypassed in favor of works nearly fifty years older.

The pretension theme also permeates the Hines story. Hines emerges as both genius and hero whereas Jacob Thompson, the "agent's" superior in Canada, is depicted as a simpleton. Horan pretends that Hines stopped in Washington to shake President Lincoln's hand when the Confederate agent was Canada-bound. He pretends that Hines contacted Indiana Copperheads and paved the way for Morgan's raid. He pretends that Clement C.

Vallandigham was involved in the Hines-directed conspiracies, that Hines was instrumental in getting Vallandigham to incorporate the peace plank in the Democratic platform of 1864. He pretends that a secret army of 100,000 Copperheads was poised and ready to strike. He even pretends that Charles Walsh, later arrested in connection with the "Camp Douglas Conspiracy," was the "political boss of Chicago's Cook County."

Misstatements are numerous. The page-and-a-half account (pp. 20-21) of Vallandigham's arrest and trial contains at least a dozen errors. Rumors and newspaper-made charges are accepted as fact. This interesting work will keep many Civil War legends alive. Had the author employed the subtitle, "A Historical Novel," this reviewer would have been less critical.

Marquette University

FRANK L. KLEMENT

Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity. By William Garrett West. (Disciples of Christ Historical Society: Nashville, Tenn., 1954. Pp. 245. \$4.00.)

This handsome volume should be of especial interest to Illinoisans, since Stone (1772-1844) spent his last decade in Jacksonville where he edited the *Christian Messenger*.

His career, however, has its widest significance in the area of Christian unity. Of Virginia Presbyterian background, he shared in interdenominational revivals in Kentucky (1801), leading a movement away from the churches under the simple name "Christian" (1804). Rejecting divisive creeds, Stone maintained fraternal relations with similar-minded groups, fusing with Alexander Campbell's followers into the Disciples of Christ (1832). Thus the yearning for a unified Christendom led to another Protestant denomination. Yet Stone's goal was that of the ecumenical movement, and he merits remembrance as a forerunner of the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954.

Dr. West in this study places Stone's religious thought in its historical context. A central-minded Disciple, he skillfully minimizes contentious aspects, with few errors, and achieves deserved recognition for Stone. This Illinois native wishes, however, that Dr. West had used the 1907 and 1913 *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* to elaborate on Stone's work during the Jacksonville years. Congratulations are due the Yale Divinity School, where Dr. West did his doctoral dissertation on Stone, to the sponsoring Society, and to the Disciples of Christ. Historians of American religious beginnings can only say to other faiths, "Go, and do thou likewise."

Oklahoma A. & M. College

THEODORE L. AGNEW

Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West. By Wallace Stegner. (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1954. Pp. 438. \$6.00.)

In 1869 an expedition financed by the Illinois Natural History Society, Illinois State Normal University and the University of Illinois filled in the last blank spot on the map of the United States by navigating the canyons and rapids of the Green and Colorado rivers from Green River, Wyoming, to the western end of the Grand Canyon. Its leader, John Wesley Powell, had moved to Illinois in his eighteenth year; had attended Illinois Institute (now Wheaton College) and Illinois College; had become principal of the Hennepin schools in 1860; had become chief of artillery of the Seventeenth Army Corps in spite of losing an arm at Shiloh; had taught at Illinois Wesleyan, and was then a member of the Normal faculty and secretary of the Natural History Society and curator of the museum he alone had persuaded the legislature to establish. Illinoisans formed a large proportion of the preliminary expedition of 1868 and the second running of the Colorado in 1871-1872 (which developed into the Powell Survey). The 1869 expedition, however, which reads like an adventure story and occupies a third of the volume, was composed, except for Powell himself, of veteran Western trappers.

Beyond the Hundredth Meridian is "the history not of a personality but of a career." Such events as do not contribute to the picture of Powell as explorer, geologist, ethnologist and lobbyist in Congress for a United States Geological Survey and a Bureau of Ethnology (both of which he was to head), are passed over. Powell was the first to publish the theory that the aridity of the West necessitated great alterations in the mode of settlement. In the late 1880's he was empowered to stop all settlement on public lands except in the areas which his Irrigation Survey should scientifically determine to be irrigable. After political pressure ended this procedure, many irreplaceable natural resources were wasted before the creation of the Bureau of Reclamation by Congress in 1902, a few weeks before Powell's death. Frederick Webb Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* is the outgrowth of the ethnological work begun by Powell and carried on by his assistants.

The book is documented by copious and informative footnotes—indispensable for a complete understanding of the narrative, but unfortunately almost inaccessible in the back of the volume—and a nineteen-page index. The first group of pictures shows the development of artists' conceptions of the Western canyons from sheer imagination to realism, and the second, photographs of Powell and the Colorado River canyons.

Illinois State Historical Library

JAMES N. ADAMS

CENTENNIAL HISTORIES

More than thirty Illinois cities and towns celebrated their centennials in 1954—because 1854 was a major railroad-building year throughout the state. (Two celebrants not listed in previous issues of this *Journal* were Odell, September 7-12, and Toledo, October 6-9.) Most of these celebrations include the publication of a local history—some in the form of full-length books bound in hard covers, some as pamphlets or pages of a souvenir program, and others as part of centennial editions of newspapers.

The 374-page *El Paso Story*, produced by five authors—and many others were associated with its compilation—under the sponsorship of the El Paso Public Library Board, could well serve as a model for centennial publications. Its eighteen chapters, six of which were written by Cassell C. Kingdon, chairman of the *Story* committee, member of the Library Board and cashier of the Woodford County National Bank, furnish a co-ordinated history of El Paso and the surrounding townships. There is a wealth of local history in the appendix, which contains data on the pre-1860 pioneers of the area. In addition to the chapter illustrations there is a section of forty-five photographs taken in the 1890's.

In addition to a chronological record of the town's founding, development and institutions, there are separate chapters on noteworthy people and events. One of these is "The Story of Ludwik Chlopicki," a Polish baron who had been a major in the army which fought unsuccessfully for Poland's independence from Russia in 1830-1831. One of 235 exiles who came to the United States in 1834 and were given a congressional grant of land in Illinois on which to settle, Major Chlopicki acted as agent for his compatriots, but legal complications prevented their taking possession of the land. After operating a St. Louis tavern for twenty years, Chlopicki went to El Paso in 1856 and entered the restaurant business. Many famous people enjoyed the hospitality of the "Count"—so-called because of his courtly manners. On the afternoon following the Freeport debate with Douglas, Lincoln with a group of friends and reporters had lunch at the Count's between trains.

The chapter on "The Campbell House" concerns a famous hostelry at the crossing of the Illinois Central and Peoria & Oquawka railroads. There are chapters on the Woodford County Fair, which ended with its forty-sixth season in 1927, and on "Kemp's Wild West Shows" which toured the country around the turn of the century. Among those whose brief biographical sketches appear in "Our Sons in Name and Fame," the two best known are Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and Lester Pfister of hybrid corn fame.

Besides his own chapters, Mr. Kingdon supplied the data for the appendix and gave his collaborators the benefit of his years of research.

Brief notes on the other centennial histories follow:

AMBOY: The Rev. Anthony J. Becker is the author of *The Biography of a Country Town: U. S. A.*, a hard-cover volume of 217 pages which is the centennial history of Amboy and surrounding Lee County. In telling his story he employs the unusual device of an interview with a mythical visitor whom he calls The Old Man. The book has more than one hundred photographs and several maps. Much of Father Becker's material is also used in the twenty-eight-page centennial issue of *The Amboy News*, published on October 21.

ANNA: The Centennial Committee published *100 Years of Progress, The Centennial History of Anna, Illinois*, a 446-page book with a blue cloth binding. The first seventy-five pages are devoted to a history of the town and county. The remainder contains sketches of present-day civic and business organizations. The book is adequately illustrated but lacks a table of contents and has a limited index. *The Gazette-Democrat and the Anna Talk* published a sixty-two-page centennial edition on July 1.

BUFFALO: The *Buffalo Centennial Souvenir Program* is a fourteen-page pamphlet, without advertising or pictures, containing two accounts of the early days of the village, and two versions as to the origin of its name.

CHEBANSE: *Memories of Chebanse* is a centennial booklet of eighty-eight oversize (8½ by 11 inches) pages. About half of the space is taken up with advertising and the rest is devoted to history—mostly pictorial.

CHENOA: *The Chenoa Clipper-Times* on July 22 published a sixteen-page centennial issue.

DWIGHT: The centennial booklet *A Great Past—A Greater Future* consists of 104 oversize pages, about forty of which are given over to advertising. The two pages in the center present an aerial view of the present-day village, and there are twenty pictures from its past. The text has fourteen pages of general history, seventeen devoted to the churches and the remainder to schools, hospitals, civic and fraternal organizations. The *Dwight Star and Herald* on August 13 published a Centennial Supplement of twenty-two pages.

EFFINGHAM: The centennial program, a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, contains little of the history of the town, but the *Effingham Daily News* published a special centennial edition of 160 pages on May 12.

FLORA: The souvenir program, *Flora's Centennial Celebration*, contains seventy-six unnumbered, oversize pages. There are approximately six pages of history and biography and the same amount of space is devoted to photographs of "Flora of Yesteryear." The remainder is filled with an unusual number of pictures of centennial preparations and with advertising. *The Flora Daily News-Record* published a centennial issue of fifty pages on July 1.

GALVA: George Swank is the author of a fifteen-page history "The Galva Story" which introduces the twenty-eight page oversize souvenir program sponsored by the Galva Centennial Commission. On the inside of the covers are four large views of the town, one of which was taken about 1865. The *Galva News* published a centennial edition of sixty-four pages on July 22.

HAMILTON: *The Hamilton Press'* sixteen-page centennial edition (August 12) contains about three pages of history.

KEWANEE: The foreword to *The Kewanee Story*, a forty-eight page booklet, sponsored by the Kewanee Centennial Commission, states that it "is not intended as a history." However, there are chapters on the founding of the city, its industries and institutions, transportation, recreation and government. The *Star-Courier* published a centennial edition of 144 pages on July 13.

LANSING: The *Lansing Journal's* souvenir edition of eighty-four pages, published on August 17, contains much historical material.

MAROA: The booklet *Maroa Centennial* differs from most such publications in that twenty-five of its 120 oversize pages are devoted to family histories. There are fifty pages of advertising and the remaining forty-five pages contain nearly 250 pictures, half of which were taken around the turn of the century or earlier.

ODELL: The Centennial Committee issued a large, handsomely printed and well illustrated, paper-backed book of 180 pages titled *Odell Centennial, 1854-1954*, which sells for \$1.50. *The Odell Times* published a centennial issue of twenty-two pages on September 2.

PAWNEE: *The Pawnee Herald* on June 11 published a souvenir edition of thirty-six unnumbered tabloid pages.

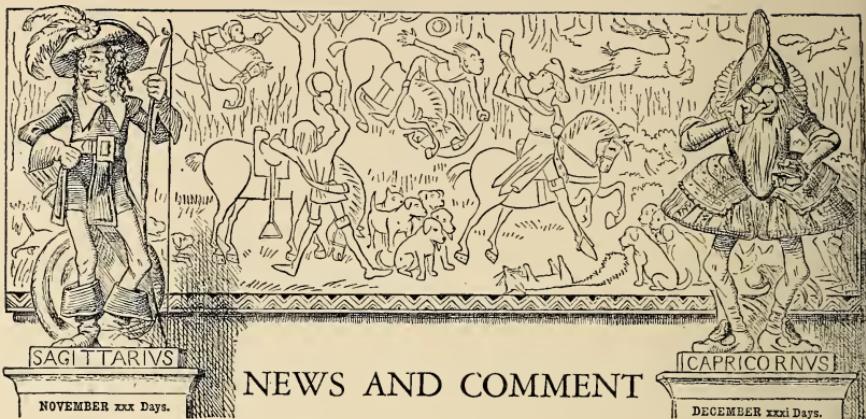
PLANO: *The Kendall County News*, on June 23, published a Plano Centennial Edition of twenty-four pages.

SUMNER: *The Sumner Press* issued a thirty-two page centennial edition on July 1.

WAPELLA: The souvenir booklet *Wapella Centennial 1854-1954* is paper-backed and contains 148 unnumbered six by nine-inch pages. Twelve pages are devoted to the centennial program and sixty-two to advertising. The remainder includes nearly fifty photographs, half of them of the present day, a dozen pages of history, reminiscences of a few old-timers, brief accounts of the churches and schools, and biographical sketches.

CORRECTIONS

La Grange celebrated its seventy-first anniversary in 1954, not its centennial as reported on page 333 of the Autumn issue of this *Journal*. On the same page, the date of Benjamin Lundy's birth should be 1789, not 1798.



NEWS AND COMMENT

BESTOR ELECTED PRESIDENT OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Arthur E. Bestor of Champaign, professor of history at the University of Illinois, was elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1954-1955 by the directors at the Society's annual meeting in Vandalia October 8-9. Joseph C. Burtschi, Vandalia; Virginia Carroll, Galena; David V. Felts, Decatur; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton; William A. Pitkin, Carbondale; Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston; Alexander Summers, Mattoon; and Arthur F. Symond, La Salle, were chosen as vice-presidents, and Harry E. Pratt, Springfield, was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Directors elected by the membership for the three-year term expiring in 1957 are James T. Hickey, Elkhart; Wason W. Lawrence, Fairfield; Ralph G. Newman, Oak Park; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; and Scerial Thompson, Harrisburg.

Mr. Burtschi, president of the Vandalia Historical Society and chairman of the local arrangements committee for the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the State Historical Society, had worked the better part of a year organizing the details of the meeting only to find at the last minute that the effort had cost him the enjoyment of it. On his doctor's orders he was forced to be absent. His plans were so well made, however, that they were carried out by his committee chairmen without a hitch. His daughter Mary presided in his place at the Friday afternoon meeting in the Hall of Representatives in the Old Statehouse, and at the banquet that evening she and her sister Josephine received a scroll inscribed to their father as a tribute to his work on behalf of the Historical Society. The next issue of the *Vandalia Union* contained a poem by the Rev. Roscoe C. Coen, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, praising "The Man Who Wasn't There."

Much of Mr. Burtschi's time had been employed in compiling, writing and publishing a ninety-six-page book, *Documentary History of Vandalia*,

Illinois, the State Capital of Illinois from 1819 to 1839. This handsome volume is bound in green, with an ox-drawn prairie schooner and the title engraved in gold on the front cover. It contains the text of legislative acts relating to Vandalia, the accounts of various settlers and visitors, newspaper stories of important events, and much other factual information of the period. Original material fills in gaps not covered by the documents, including a chapter by Mary Burtschi on "James Hall, the Foremost Literary Figure of the Early West," and accounts of transportation, hotels and the three capitol buildings. The book is well illustrated with drawings and photographs, supplemented by pen-and-ink decorations by John Matthew Heller, St. Louis artist. An individually boxed and suitably inscribed copy was presented to each member of the Society attending the meeting. A limited number are available at \$5.00 each.

An exhibit of heirlooms and antiques in the Old Statehouse was arranged by the committee. In addition nearly a dozen of the town's stores had similar displays in their windows, and the Hotel Evans unveiled a mural of the statehouse square in Vandalia's capital days (which will be reproduced in a later issue of this *Journal*).

The complimentary bus tour of historic spots in Vandalia and vicinity was much enjoyed, and the visit to the Illinois State Farm gave the members of the Society an opportunity to become acquainted with this feature of the state's penal system. Dr. John T. Flanagan, professor of English at the University of Illinois, addressed the group on "James Hall, Pioneer Editor and Publicist," and State Historian Harry E. Pratt concluded the meeting with an address at the Saturday luncheon on "A. Lincoln of Sangamon: Lawmaker in Vandalia."

HAUBERG HONORED ON EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

John H. Hauberg, Rock Island historiographer and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was honored by his friends at a testimonial dinner in the Y.W.C.A. building on his eighty-fifth birthday, November 22. The program included tributes by State Historian Harry E. Pratt and President Conrad Bergendoff of Augustana College, and instrumental and vocal music by Augustana College groups. "Standing Bear," a study and appreciation of Mr. Hauberg's career by Professor O. Fritiof Ander, appeared in the Summer, 1952 issue of this *Journal*.

The highlight of the evening was the presentation to Mr. Hauberg of a book entitled *The John H. Hauberg Historical Essays*. This seventy-page volume, published by the Augustana Library, was compiled and edited by Dr. Ander, a director of the State Historical Society and head of the depart-

ment of history at Augustana. It contains a foreword by Merle Curti, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin and president of the American Historical Association, and six original essays on subjects in which Mr. Hauberg has long been interested: "The Changing Lincoln," by Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society; "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War," by Harry E. Pratt; "Pioneer Speech," by Edward Everett Dale, professor emeritus of history, University of Oklahoma; "The German Forty-Eighters," by Carl Wittke, dean of the graduate school, Western Reserve University; "Weyerhaeuser and Chippewa Logging Industry," by Paul W. Gates, professor of American history, Cornell University; and "In the American Tradition," by Conrad Bergendoff.

Augustana College, Black Hawk Hiking Club, Quad-Cities Social Studies Association, Rock Island County Historical Society, and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations sponsored the tribute. Mrs. Milton Scheuerman, president of the Rock Island Y.W.C.A. board, presided.

NATIONAL TRUST MEETS IN ILLINOIS

Louis Bromfield was the principal speaker at the annual dinner of the National Trust for Historic Preservation on Friday, October 29 at the Casino Club in Chicago. On October 30-31 the members made an excursion to Galena, where General U. S. Grant III, grandson of the Civil War general and President, addressed the group Saturday evening on "My Grandfather Called Galena Home." Harding Scholle spoke on "The Value of Historic Preservation," Richard Hagen on "Illinois Memorials," and the Rev. John Hodgson on "Historic Galena" (illustrated). On Sunday a chartered bus took the group to several of Galena's historic homes.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation is a non-profit, non-governmental association chartered by Congress, empowered to receive "donations of sites, buildings and objects significant in American history and culture."

Guests of honor at this meeting were the Earl of Wemyss and March, chairman of the Council of the National Trust for Scotland, and Lady Wemyss.

CHICAGO'S FIRST SCHOOLTEACHER HONORED

Eliza Chappell Porter, Chicago's first schoolteacher and later a Civil War teacher and nurse, was honored on Wednesday, October 6 by the dedication of a marker at the southwest corner of State Street and Wacker Drive, Chicago. The inscription on the plaque reads: "On this site, Eliza Chappell (1807-1888), later Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, opened the first school in 1833. Placed by the Illinois Chapter, National Society of Daughters of Founders

and Patriots." At the dedication Mrs. Laura Henderson Jackson, honorary president of the Society, spoke on Mrs. Porter's career. The plaque, affixed to the guard around the stairway entrance to the lower level of Wacker Drive, was accepted for the city by George DeMent, acting commissioner of public works.

A figurine of Mrs. Porter dressed in a costume of the early days is in the Mrs. Minna Schmidt collection on permanent display in the Illinois State Historical Library. The selection of Mrs. Porter as the pioneer Chicago woman to be honored was suggested by Mrs. Fern Nance Pond of Petersburg.

INGERSOLL MARKER DEDICATED

The site of the office where Robert G. and Ebon C. Ingersoll practiced law at Raleigh, then the Saline County seat, is the location of a historical marker which was dedicated on November 20. The principal speaker at the ceremony was Earle Benjamin Searcy, clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois, who was introduced by Scerial Thompson, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society. The marker was presented by Arthur E. Bestor, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and accepted by President Louis Aaron of the Saline County Historical Society on behalf of the society and the county. J. Ward Barnes, past president of the state society, presided. The inscription reads:

Ingersoll Law Office 1855-1857. Two hundred feet east of here was the Ingersoll law office. Ebon Clark Ingersoll and Robert Green Ingersoll, his younger brother, before they moved to Peoria, had a successful law practice in the Saline County Circuit Court which met in Raleigh, the first county seat of Saline County, 1847-1859. Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society 1954.

REMINISCENCES OF CONGRESSMAN JOHNSON

Anton J. Johnson of Macomb, who served for five terms (1939-1949) as congressman from Hancock, Henderson, McDonough, Mercer, Rock Island and Warren counties (then the Fourteenth District), has written a ninety-four-page booklet, *My Ten Years in Congress*. A reluctant candidate at first, Johnson closes by agreeing with the Honorable Sam Rayburn's remark, "I love the House of Representatives." His pages are filled with the human-interest episodes of his Washington years. He discusses at greater length than other subjects the search for rubber during World War II, and his trip to Japan, China and the Philippines soon after the war.



Photo by Joseph Russo, Dixon, Ill.

"GALENA," IN COLLECTION OF MONTICELLO COLLEGE



"MINING IN ILLINOIS," ELDORADO POST OFFICE MURAL

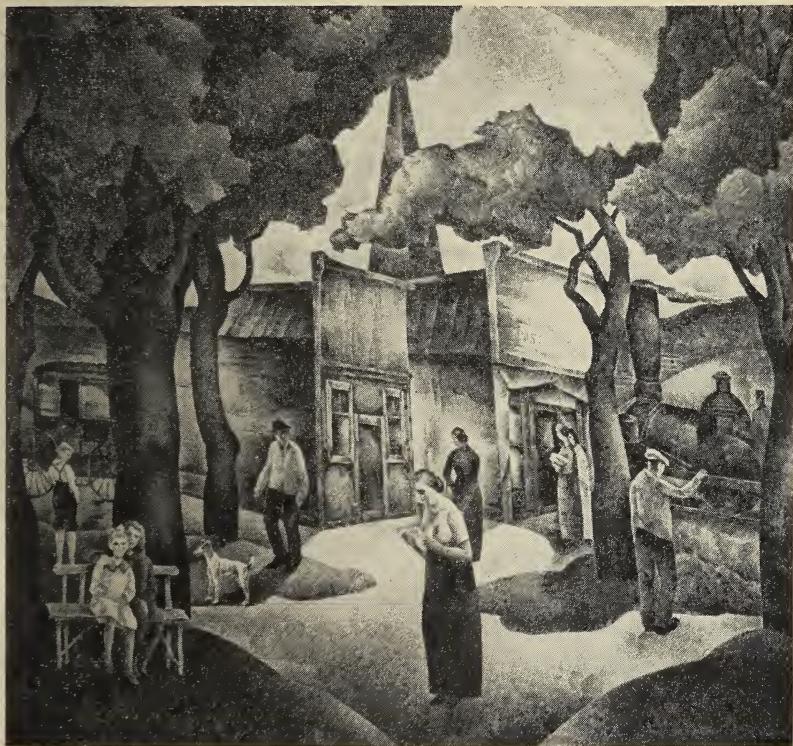


Photo by Hammack Studio, Fairfield, Ill.

"OLD POST OFFICE," AT FAIRFIELD

FOUR ILLINOIS SCENES

The picture on the front cover of this *Journal* and the three Illinois scenes on these two pages are the work of Chicago artist William S. Schwartz. "River Boat and Bridge" is a mural painted in 1938 for the post office at Pittsfield. This Pike County scene is the Champ Clark Bridge and the Mississippi River ferry to Louisiana, Missouri. The ferry landing is at the lower right, almost under the bridge.

"Galena" at the top of the opposite page is a water color which was awarded the Monticello College first purchase prize in 1939 and is now a part of that Godfrey, Illinois, institution's permanent collection. It was painted in 1938 when Schwartz spent some time sketching in Galena because he found the landscape and city scenes so unusual.

The "Mining in Illinois" mural was painted for the Eldorado post office

in 1937, and the awarding of the contract was based in part on the artist's much larger mural "Mining" for the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. The scene was made realistic to avoid criticism from miners, but the props and ties are red and the ceiling green to give contrast to what would otherwise have been a black and white picture.

The earliest of these paintings is the "Old Post Office" which was done in 1936 for the Fairfield post office.

William S. Schwartz is one of the most versatile and prolific of contemporary artists. He has exhibited in national and international showings since 1918 and has won a long and impressive list of awards. His work may be seen in galleries, museums and libraries throughout this country and in Germany, France, Russia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Palestine. Among the Illinois collections in which he is represented are those of the Art Institute of Chicago, University of Illinois, Southern Illinois University, Bradley University, Northern Illinois State Teachers College, Cook County Nurses Home, Chicago Teachers College and the Glencoe Public Library. During the month of October the Riccardo Gallery in Chicago had a showing of his pen and ink drawings, water colors and oil paintings representative of his work for the past five years.

BLOCKHOUSE PLANNED FOR FORT EDWARDS

Hand-hewn walnut logs, said to be from historic Fort Edwards, which have been for many years part of a granary on a nearby farm, have been returned to Warsaw, the site of the old fort. Some of the logs have holes cut in the edges, through which it is believed United States troops fired at Indians. The Warsaw Business and Professional Women's Club plans to use the logs to construct a blockhouse near the site of the original fort, now reconstructed and maintained by the State.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society and the Madison County Historical Society had a picnic and meeting at Cahokia Mounds State Park on Sunday, September 12. Following the lunch, which had been planned by Mrs. Horace I. Ash and the hospitality committee, papers on the historical background of the Mounds were read by Jessie Springer and Don Lewis of the Madison County Society and by Mr. and Mrs. John F. Lemp of the Alton Area Society.

Harry M. Perkins, lifetime resident of Belvidere, died on September 26 at the age of seventy. He had served five terms as mayor of Belvidere and had been president of the Boone County Historical Society for several years.

A silver tea for the Bureau County Historical Society was held on October 3 at the home of the Perry D. Trimble in Princeton. Music was provided by Roger Hall on an organ furnished by Lyon and Healy of Chicago.

Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, addressed the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) on October 13 on "History: Art, Science or Waste of Time."

Officers of the Society are: George F. Cassell, president; Marguerite McBride, Tom Connery, John F. Butler and William Cohn, vice-presidents; and Mrs. Lillian Vitous, treasurer.

The Du Page County Historical Society's tour of scenic and historical places in the county on September 18 included particularly the Naperville and Warrenville areas in the southwestern part of the county. After a picnic lunch at Pioneer Park south of Naperville the group visited Naperville and the Caroline Martin Mitchell Historical Museum.

The Society held its annual dinner at Gary Memorial Church in Wheaton on October 26. Lester C. Furney of the Argonne National Laboratory gave an illustrated lecture on research work at the DuPage County institution.

The annual fall tour sponsored by the Edwards County Historical Society was held on October 10. It included a forty-five-mile circuit in the northwestern part of the county.

Galena celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first railroad train in that historic town on November 8, 1854. At 4:30 P.M. on that memorable day a thirteen-gun salute announced that the train had arrived, and a procession formed at the depot and marched to the DeSoto House where a banquet was held.

On September 25 and 26 Galena held its fifth annual tour of historic homes. The tour is sponsored by the First Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, minister of the Unitarian Church of Geneva and president of the Geneva Historical Society, was honored at a dinner at the Shoreland Hotel in Chicago on October 15. This was the first event of the Chicago Area Conference of Religious Liberals, whose testimonial praised Dr. Lyttle as "scholar, historian, minister, religious educator, citizen in the full meaning of that great term."

William H. Farley of Harrisburg spoke at the September meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society in Mt. Vernon. He showed colored

motion pictures of points of interest in "Egypt," including those of the 1954 spring tour of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Lake County Historical Society has issued an attractive historical map of the county, with an inset map of Waukegan, the county seat, which increases its usefulness. Printed on fine paper, the map measures approximately 24 by 27 inches. Historical sketches of the more important places are given, and all are listed in the "Key to Historical Points of Interest." Seventy-six historic sites in the county and fifteen in Waukegan are indicated. The map has been an ambitious undertaking and the result is a credit to the Society. Inquiries concerning it should be directed to James R. Getz, President, Lake County Historical Society, Box 847, Lake Forest.

According to President Getz, a brief history of Lake County will be issued as a companion booklet, and another map devoted to the Indian history of the county.

Officers of the La Salle County Historical Society elected in October include: Ray C. Hawley, president; Mrs. Edgar Cook, vice-president; Dorothy Bieneman, secretary; Ruth Karger, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Henry Uhlenhop, treasurer; Mrs. Edward Carus, the Rev. Martin Coughlin, John Dubbs, Mrs. Glen Herrcke, Mrs. Louise McDougall and Sadie Murray, directors.

At this meeting C. C. Tisler spoke on Norwegian migration to the United States, and Erma Fruland discussed the founding of Norway, Illinois, the first permanent Norwegian colony in the United States, in 1834.

The gift to the Logan County Historical Society of a number of old tax receipts, bank statements, land patents, etc., by D. H. Harts of Lincoln has been announced by the Society's president, James T. Hickey. The papers will be placed in the Postville Courthouse museum.

The annual fall meeting of the Madison County Historical Society, held at the Le Claire School auditorium on October 17, was devoted to a study of Governor Edward Coles. Mrs. Edith Jinkinson Lewis spoke on Coles' Virginia background, Miss R. Louise Travous on his Illinois years, and Don Lewis on his Philadelphia years.

On September 12 the Society joined with the Alton Area Historical Society in a picnic and meeting at Cahokia Mounds State Park.

The Oak Park Historical Society held its first meeting of the season on October 21 at the South Branch Library. Mrs. George W. White showed

pictures of her recent visit to Scotland. Mrs. James W. Wilson, president of the Society, presided.

Place mats for use in restaurants, with a map of the county showing township boundaries and historical places, have been designed by the Ogle County Historical Society in co-operation with the County Supervisors.

The Twentieth Century Club of Park Ridge celebrated the community's one hundredth birthday on October 5. The city was founded by George Penny and was originally called Pennyville.

Mrs. F. S. Saville, program chairman of the Twentieth Century Club, and her committee personally communicated with a number of early residents and brought them together for the birthday party. Mrs. Grace Hibbard Head was mistress of ceremonies, and many of the early residents told stories of people and events of the past century.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held open house at its beautiful headquarters, the old Governor John Wood home, on Sunday afternoon, October 31. A number of recently acquired items were on display in the new basement museum room, including a slot machine over fifty years old formerly operated by Clat Adams on the *Ferry B. B.*; a cigar-store Indian; and a large panoramic picture of Andersonville Prison in the Civil War. New displays on the main floor included six Civil War diaries of General Elisha B. Hamilton of Quincy, and a tiny folding organ once used by circuit preachers.

Louis Aaron of Eldorado, president of the Saline County Historical Society, was the speaker at the October 15 meeting of the recently organized Randolph County Historical Society. Most sections of the county were represented at the meeting in Sparta.

Officers of the Society are: Minnie Adams, president; Mrs. John McConachie, vice-president; Hortense Hood, secretary; Mrs. Claire Foster, treasurer; Kenneth W. Bradley, Mrs. R. H. Groff, Mrs. C. M. Hanson, Mrs. P. C. Watt and Prentice Wilson, directors.

Mrs. Edward Herschbach of Chester reported that a highway marker honoring Dr. George Fisher, pioneer physician, first sheriff of Randolph County and speaker of the first territorial legislature at Kaskaskia, is being made by the Illinois State Historical Society. The Randolph County Society voted to have the marker erected at the junction of Routes 3 and 155 at Ruma, about seven miles north of Dr. Fisher's grave.

The Rock Island County Historical Society held its semi-annual meeting on October 19 at the Coal Valley Presbyterian Church. Mrs. James Spargo read a paper written by Edna Dallegue on the history of Coal Valley; Mabel Martin read the reminiscences of her aunt Minnie Martin, and other speeches were made by R. Taylor Drake, John H. Hauberg and Carl Mitchell. Eugene Mueller was named treasurer to succeed R. F. Ballard, resigned.

Mrs. Robert M. Mitchell of Chicago, great-great-granddaughter of Stephen Mack, visited Rockton and the old Mack home on October 19. The Rockton community was founded by Mack in 1829. Restoration of this historic house has been the work of the Rockton Township Historical Society. Hostess for the reception was Mrs. W. T. Tiffany, and Mrs. Frank T. Truman and Mrs. Dudley Baumel also accompanied Mrs. Mitchell on her visit to historic spots in the area.

The October meeting of the Saline County Historical Society was held in Harrisburg. The subject of the meeting was "Little Journeys through Egypt." William H. Farley showed colored slides of ten historic attractions—including the Indian Ladder, Clarida Hollow, Clarida Spring, Money Cave and Sand Cave—and gave directions for reaching them. Mrs. Earl Hancock spoke about the places of interest in the vicinity of Stonefort; Guy DeNeal, on Somerset; and James Bond, on the Big Sink north of Cave-in-Rock. John Foster showed pictures of sites in the southeast corner of the county.

A replica of an oldtime schoolroom—entitled "One Hundred Years of Teaching Progress in Stephenson County"—was on exhibit in September in the museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society as part of the centennial observance of the Illinois Education Association. The educational theme was continued in other exhibits of old and new teaching materials.

The Wayne County Historical Society met on September 24 at the First Christian Church in Fairfield. The speaker was Dr. L. W. Young, and special music was furnished by Warren and Wilburn Cable. Mrs. V. W. Mills was chairman of the program committee.

Officers of the recently organized Williamson County Historical Society elected on September 17 include: Snyder E. Herrin, president; H. L. Mot-singer, vice-president; Mrs. Mildred Bayles, secretary; Paul Frick, publicity.

The Winnetka Historical Society discussed the Chicago Fire at its first meeting of the season on October 20. Samuel S. Otis read a paper, "Memories of the Great Chicago Fire," written by Samuel Sewell Greeley, and Mrs. E. V. L. Brown read a letter from her father, H. August Kirchoff.

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